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The Laiuist Uncas'd,

IN A

DIALOGUE

Betwixt

RICHARD

AND

BAXTER,

With a

MODERATOR

Between Them,

For QUIETNESSE Sake.

By *Roger L'Estrange.*

LONDON,

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THE PREFACE.

LEſt the Title of this Book ſhould betray any man into the Reading of it, upon an Expectation of Farce, and Fooling; This is (in Limine) to give Notice, that it will be juſt ſo much Time and Money caſt away, as ſhall be laid out upon it, in That Conſideration. Not but that This Subject might do well enough in a Comical Dreſſe; but however, out of a Reſpect, partly to the Perſon, and partly to the Calling of Mr. Baxter, I have overcome the Temptation, of giving either the Reader, or my Self that ſort of Diverſion. And to ſay the Truth; It is not a Laughing matter, the ſpectacle of a man Labouring under Contradictions, and Inconſiſtencies with himſelf. But if Richard will be Quarrelling with Baxter, and Baxter ſtand pointing at Richard; and be ſtill giving it out, like Gladiators, in their Printed Bills, that upon ſuch a day, At the Three Cocks at the Weſt End of St. Pauls, or at the Princes Arms in Ludgate-ſtreet, there will be plaid a Tryall of Skill betwixt Richard and Baxter, at ſuch and ſuch Queſtions, and Weapons; Who (I ſay) can help it? For there is no Enmity, ſo Mortall, as when a man falls out with himſelf.

But what? (You'le ſay) If a body happens to tread upon his own Toes, muſt every falſe ſtep that he makes be preſently expoſed to the Publique? No, not in any wiſe, unleſſe where the Vindication of the Publique ſhall make it Abſolutely Neceſſary. As for Inſtance; I can hardly call to mind any one piece of Mr. Baxters, without ſome bitter paſſage or other in it, of deriſion upon the Government, or the Rites of the Church. What can be more Reaſonable now, then to confront him with Himſelf: and to oppoſe Mr. Baxter the Divine, to Mr. Baxter the Polititian; the man of Love, Order, and Truth, to the man of Wrath, Confuſion and Paradox? When I ſee him ſporting himſelf in his Altitudes upon the Text of his Own, and the Presbyterians Loyalty; with his wonted declamatory Reproaches

upon the Manners, as well as the Services of the Royal Party What can I do better, then to face him with the Acts of the Assembly, and the Proceedings of the Two Houses, to the Contrary? And to produce his own Act and Deed in evidence against his Profession? On the One hand, you have Mr. Baxter valuing himself upon his Principles of Loyalty, and Obedience; And on the Other hand, you have the very same Mr. Baxter, (according to the Outward Man) not only pleading the Cause, but Celebrating the Justice, and Canonizing (as in his Saints Rest, Pa. 101. of the Old Editions) the Prime Directors and Instruments of The Late Rebellion: Asserting the very Doctrine of Those Positions, whereupon it was founded. When Mr. Baxter Sets up for a Toleration; what can be fairer then to shew him his own Arguments against it? Or to ask him, how HE, (a kinde of Heteroclite in his opinions,) that has Chalk'd out so singular a Plat-Form of Church-Regiment to himself, comes now to be a Common Advocate for all the Dissenting Parties? Take him in One Mood, (as in his Five Disputations, and elsewhere) and he tells ye, that a Diocesan Prelacy is plainly Antichristian, and Intolerable. And yet in his Non-Conformists Plea, and other parts of his Writings, he tells ye again, that the Nonconformists would have submitted to it. Now if the Constitution was so Abominable, why should they submit to it? And if it was not so, why does Mr. Baxter say that it was? And why does he still persist, in Debauching and Alienating the hearts of the People from their Rulers, in matters which he himself acknowledges to be Warrantable, and Established by Law? And so for our Liturgy and Ceremonies, he's at the same Variance with himself, about the Lawfulnesse, or Unlawfulnesse of Those Points also.

Now since Mr. Baxter has been pleased to take upon himself, the Patronage of the Non-Conformists Cause, and to put forth his Plea, and his Plea again for That Interest; what can be more Obliging then to take him at his word, and consider him under the Publick Character of Their Representative? At This Rate, Mr. Baxters Works will be as good us a Non-conformists Dictionary to us: and assist the World toward the Understanding of the Holy Dialect, in a Wonderful manner. For the Purity of the Gospell; the ways of Christ: the Ordinances of the Lord; the Power of Godlyness; the Foundations of Faith; the Holy Discipline: A Blessed Reformation, &c. These are Words, and Expressions, that signify quite another thing to Them, then they do to Us. Faithful Pastors; Laborious Ministers; Heavenly Guides; Zealous Protestants;

The Upright in the Land: Humble Petitioners; Juſt Priviledges; Higher Powers; Glorious Kings; *Holy* Covenanting unto the Lord, *&c. This is not to be taken now, as the* Language Cnrrant *of the* Nation, *but only as a Privy* Cypher *of* Intelligence *betwixt Themſelves, and the* Cant, *or* Jargon *of the* Party. *Nay, they fly from us in their* Speech, *their* Manners, *their* Meaning, *as well as in their* Profeſſion. *The very* Chriſt-Croſſe *in the* Horn-Book *is as much a* Scandal *to them, as the* Croſſe *in* Baptiſme; *and they make it a point of* Honour *to maintain the Freedome of their* Own Tongue, *in token, that they are not as yet a* Conquer'd Nation.

But are the Non-conformiſts agreed *upon it, or* not; *that Mr.* Baxter *ſhall be their* Speaker; *and that what he delivers in* Their Name, *ſhall be taken and deemed as the* ſenſe *of the* Party? *If it be ſo; we have no more to do then to Conſult Mr.* Baxter *himſelf, and from* his own Writings, *(which I have here* Cited, *and* Apply'd, *with exact* Faith, *and* Juſtice) *to take our Meaſures of the* Diſſenting Brethren.

No man preſſes Obedience to the HIGHER POWERS, *more Imperiouſly then He does: But then he makes Thoſe* Higher Powers *to be ſtill the* Uſurpers, *one after another, as they get into* ACTUAL POSSESSION. [Prove (*ſays he*) *in the* Preface *to his* Holy Common-Wealth) that the KING was the HIGHEST POWER, in the time of *Diviſion*,—and I will offer my Head to Juſtice, as a Rebell.] *His meaning muſt Inevitably be This; Either that the* King *had no* Right *to the* Crown before the Diviſions, *or that he* forfeited *his* Title, *by the* Rebellion; *which is an Admirable way of Tranſition, from* rank Treaſon, *to* Lawfull Authority. *But in all Theſe Caſes, he has ſtill a Recourſe for a Salvo to his Box of* Diſtinctions: *and tells ye, that they* Shot *at* CHARLES STUART *in the* Field, *for the* Honour *and* Safety *of the* KING *in the* Two Houſes. *And then, Good Lord! How he runs himſelf out of Breath with* Deteſting, *and* Renouncing, *and* Renouncing, *and* Deteſting KING-KILLING! *And yet upon Occaſion when* Oliver *the* King-killer *falls in his Way; How does he lay himſelf out in* Euloyges, *upon the* PIOUS Defunct! *Praying, (as the higheſt Inſtance of the Veneration he had for That* Uſurper) *that the* Spirit *of the* Father *might deſcend upon the* Son. [We pray (*ſays he to* Richard) that you may *INHERIT* a tender care of the Cauſe of Chriſt] Key for Catholicks, Ep. Ded. *But then in* another Fit, *he ſhall advance ye into his*

his Politicks, *with a* Troop *of* Aphoriſmes; *Lay* Principalities *and* Powers *Levell with the Ground, and tear up the very* Ordinance *it ſelf of* Government *by the Roots.* [If Providence (*Says he*) *STATEDLY*, diſable him that was the Governour &c.] Ho. Com. Theſ. 136.

[*And yet he does not* down-Right *avow the Doctrine of* King-Killing; *He does indeed approve of* giving Battle *to the* Kings WILL: *but whether to aym at it, in his Maieſtys* HEAD, *or in his* HEART, *is not, as yet, STATEDLY determin'd. Now to moderate the matter, The* Presbyterians *only cut off his Majeſtys* Hands, *and* Feet, *ſo that he could neither* Help *nor* Shift *for* himſelf, *and then* gave *him* (Sold *him I ſhould ſay*) *to the* Independents, *Who cut off his* Head. *If Mr.* Baxter *ſpeaks the* Sence *of the* Non-Conformiſts, *as he pretends to do, then muſt This ſerve for an Expoſition of their* Loyalty; *But if not; Why does not the* Party *either* diſown *or* take away *his* Commiſſion?

This is it, which the Reſtleſſe, *and* Implacable Adverſaries *of our* Common Repoſe, *make ſuch a noyſe in the World with, as* the work of the ſpirit of Perſecution; the Enflaming of Differences; the Widening of Breaches; and the Violation of the Act of Oblivion. *Whereas, in Truth, there's nothing in it of a* Spiteful Invective, *but on the other ſide, it is only a* playn, *and a* neceſſary defence.

Mr. Baxter, *in his* Non-Conformiſts Pleas, *delivers* (*in his way*) *a kind of* Deduction *of the* War. *Particularly, under the Head of* [Matters of Fact to be fore-known, to the True Underſtanding of the Cauſe.] 2*d* Part. Pag. 120. *In This Chapter, from the Queſtion of the* Conſtitution of Churches; *the* Powers of Princes, *and* Paſtors *in* Eccleſiaſtical Matters, *and Caſes of* Lawful Separation; *he makes a* Sally, *without any manner of* Connexion, *or* Provocation, *into the* State *and* Right *of the* War. Pa. 123. *He charges it upon a* Faction *among the* Biſhops, *and the falling in of the* Majority *of the* Parliaments, *to the* Popular *part of them; in* That diviſion: *which is a* Calumny, *as remote from the* Subject *of his Diſcourſe as it is from Truth. If it had been as he woud have it; how comes the* whole Order of Biſhops *to be* Aſſaulted? *Their* Perſons *Affronted; and their* Votes *in* Parliament *taken away; without* diſtinction? *Was the* Feud ſo deadly, *as to make them deſtroy* Themſelves; *and Ruine the whole* Hierarchy *in Revenge? How came it to paſs, that Biſhop* Hall, *a Perſon Celebrated even by Mr.* Baxter *himſelf for his Piety and Moderation: How came This Reverend*

verend Prelate I ſay, to be ſo Courſly handled by the Corporation of the Smectymnuans, Marſhall, Calamy, Young, Newcomen, *and* Spurſtow: *and Treated by Five of the moſt Eminent men of the Party, with Scurrilitys fitter for the Prieſts of* Priapus, *then the Miniſters of the Goſpell.* Pa. 124. *He goes on with his Remarks upon Biſhop* Laud, *over and over. The Book of Sports, on the Lords day, the buſineſs of* [*Altars, Rayls, and Bowing towards them.* Afternoon-Sermons *and* Lectures *put down; Impriſonments, Stigmatiſings, Removals,* &c.] *And then* Pa. 125. *He proceeds to* [*the new Liturgy Impoſed on the Scots,* &c.] *But ſays he, (a little below) we are Unwilling to be the Mentioners of any More then Concerneth our Preſent Cauſe, and the Things are Commonly known.*] *Which is ſuch a way of* Mentioning no more, *as gives to underſtand without ſpeaking, all the Ill Imaginable that was Left unſaid.*

Methinks Mr. Baxter *might have let This moſt* Reverend, Pious, Loyal *and* ANTIPAPAL *Arch-Biſhop have ſlept quietly in his Grave, and out of pure Gratitude to our Preſent Sovereign, to whoſe Mercy this very Gentleman owes his Life, ſetting aſide the Veneration that belongs to Majeſty, and Truth; Methinks Mr.* Baxter *might have ſpared this Libell, under the Government of the* Son, *againſt the Adminiſtrations of the* Father. *But it is no new thing, for Criminals to Arraign Innocents; or for Thoſe that are Pardon'd for Subverting the Government, to ſhoot their Arrows (even bitter Words) againſt Thoſe that have been Perſecuted and Murther'd for Endeavouring to defend it.*

And now after all Theſe Imputations upon the King, the Church, and the Loyall Party, even to the Degree of making them Anſwerable for all the Blood that has been ſpilt: We muſt not ſo much as preſume to ſay that we are Innocent. But every Vindication of the King, the Church, and the Law from the Inſults of the Common Enemy, is exclaimed againſt as an Inrode *upon the Act of Indemnity. If Mr.* Baxter *will needs be laying the Rebellion at the wrong door, and Diſcharging the* Presbyterians: *Why may not any Honeſt man Reply upon him; and ſay, (in agreement with Mr.* Baxter himſelf, Non-Conformiſts Plea, I. Part. Pa. 127. *that it was the* Solemn League *and* Covenant *that did the work: Which* Solemn League *was not only an Expreſſe* Oath *of* Allegiance *to* Presbytery, *but to the moſt* Tyrannical *of* all Presbyteries, *That of the* Scottiſh Kirk it ſelf. *But why do I call it an* Oath of Allegiance to Presbytery? *When it was in Truth, a direct* Conjuration *againſt the* Government, *both* Eccleſiaſtical, *and* Civil, *for the* Introducing *of it?*

It

It would be Tedious, and Superfluous, to Crowd all the Particulars *of This Pamphlet into a* Preface; *ſo that I ſhall rather refer the Reader, to the* Book, *for the* reſt; *where he may compare Mr.* Baxter *with* himſelf: *for it is, Effectually, but an* Abſtract *out of Mr.* Baxter's *Writings. By the* Paradoxes, Diſagreements, *and* Contradictions *he will be able to Judge of the* Authour; *and by the* Authour, *in a great Meaſure of the* Party. *He that would ſee them drawn more to the* Life, *may repair to the* Original *of our* Saviours *for the* Phariſees, *in the* Goſpell. *Examin them Narrowly and you ſhall not find ſo much as the ſemblance of a Colourable* Argument; *but they are ſtill changing their* Battery, *and* Pretenſe, *according to the* various Accidents, *and* diſpoſitions *of* State: *and it is but tracing the Hiſtory of the Late times to find every Round of the Ladder, that advanc'd them from* Petitioners *to* Rulers. They Plead the Cauſe of Thouſands in the Land, *they tell us, and yet there's not a* Single man *in* all Thoſe Thouſands, *that underſtands one bit of the* Controverſy. *They cry aloud againſt* Idolatry, Superſtition, Abominations, Symbolical Ceremonies, Will-Worſhip, Humane Inventions, *and Order their* Diſciples *juſt as they do their Children: They dreſſe up a Terrible thing of* Clouts, *and call it a* Bull-begger, *which is no other then a* Mormo *of their* own Creating. *They have a certain* Routin *of* Words, *and* Sayings, *that have the tone of* Magique *in the very* Sound *of them, and ſerve only (without any other* Meaning) *like the* Drum, *and the* Trumpet, *to rouſe up the* Multitude *to* Battle. *But the* Lords Ordinance, *and the* Primitive Pattern *ſtand them in Mighty ſtead. For though they have been* Foyld *as often as* Encountred *upon* This Queſtion; *yet the very* Terms *of the Controverſy being as good as* Syriack, *to the* Common people; *there is a* Miſt *caſt before their* Eyes, *and they are never in ſo good tune, to ſee* Viſions *as when they are ſtark blind.*

To Conclude, I have expoſed theſe Sheets to the Publick, *rather as Mr.* Baxters work, *then* my own. *If it runs* heavy, *it was none of* my *Fault that my* Authour *would not mend his* Pace. *Nor have I any more to ſay upon the whole matter, but that* I *have been as fair to Mr.* Baxter, *as* He *hath been to* Himſelf.

A DIALOGUE, &c.

Moderator. Richard and *Baxter.*

Moderator. YEs, yes. I remember the Conference at the *Savoy* perfectly well; by This Token, that Dr. *Gunning* and Dr. *Pearſon* (the Biſhops of *Ely* and *Cheſter*) deliver'd you this very Propoſition.

That Command which Commandeth an Act in it ſelf Lawfull, and no other Act whereby any unjuſt Penalty is enjoyned, nor any Circumſtance whence directly, or per accidens, *any Sin is Conſequent which the Commander ought to provide againſt, hath in it all things requiſite to the Lawfulneſſe of a Command, and particularly cannot be guilty of Commanding an Act* per accidens *Unlawful; nor of Commanding an Act under an* Unjuſt Penalty. [*B. of* Worceſters *Letter, in his Vindication againſt M.* Baxter. P. 36.] The Propoſition at the *Savoy* about the command of lawful Superiours.

Ri. *Very Good; and I gave them under my hand my Opinion to the Contrary.* [Becauſe (*ſaid I*) the firſt Act commanded may be *per accidens* Unlawful, and be Commanded by an *Unjuſt Penalty*; tho' no other Act or Circumſtance Commanded be ſuch.] *Ibid. P.* 36. *Richards* Reſolution under his hand.

Ba. Nay hold you Brother, I'm of another Opinion. [If the thing Commanded be ſuch as is ſimply Ill, and forbidden us by God in all Caſes whatſoever, then no ones Commands can make it Lawfull: But if it it be a thing that is only Inconvenient, or Unlawfull by ſome Leſſer accident; then the Command of Authority may pre-ponderate, as a more weighty Accident.] *Baxter* of another opinion.

Many Commands unlawful which the subject ought yet to obey.

R. B's. *Church Divisions*, *P.* 194. Nay [Many a Ruler sinneth in his Commands, when it is no Sin, but a Duty of the Inferior to Obey them. As if a Magistrate Command Religious Duties in meer Policy; or if he force a Lawfull Command with Unlawfull Penalties; and *Yet* it will be the Subjects Duty to Obey.] *Ibid* [Nor is any Ruler bound to suspect, and prevent such Unusuall Dangers of mens Sin, or Ruine, as fall out beyond all Rationall Foresight, or Expectation; of whose Probable Event (or Possible at least), there was no just Evidence.] *R. B*'s *Non-Conformist's Judgment*. P. 60.

No Ruler is bound to provide against Events not to be foreseen.

Magistracy cut off at a blow.

Mo. Your Argument (Mr. *Richard*) has cut off all Magistracy at a Blow: For there is not any Command Imaginable that falls not within the Reach of your Exception. And Mr. *Baxter* is in the Right on't. But what do ye think now (Gentlemen) of the *Operation*, or *further Extent* of such a *Power*?

The Civill Power must not make Laws about *Gods Worship*

Ri. *If you mean as to matters concerning* Religion [*No man hath any Authority to make Laws* about Gods Worship, *but what Christ hath given him.*] Non-Conformists Plea 2d. Part. *P.* 28.

But *Baxter* says, that *Circa Sacra* he *may*.

Ba. Pray'e hold me a little Excus'd There too; *for* [we renounce the Opinion of them that hold that *Circa Sacra* the King hath no Power to Command the Circumstances of Worship.] *Non-Conformist's Plea. Part.* 2*d*. P. 75.

Richard and *Baxter* still at variance.

Mo. There is but a Right and a Wrong in the case (my Masters) and you have hit them both again, I make no doubt on't, but your *Circa Sacra* comprehends *Liturgies*, *Ceremonies*, and other Circumstances of *Order*, relating to the *Church*, pray'e tell me how your Consciences stand affected that way: Not as to the Merits of the Cause (for the world is allready clogg'd with That Controversy) but I would willingly know what thoughts, You, and the Party you plead for, entertain of our Ecclesiasticall matters.

Ri.

Ri. [*When the King call'd us to signify our Desires in* 1660. *the Ministers of* London *were commonly invited to come to* Sion Colledge, *that their Common Consent might be known: And There we agreed, to desire or offer nothing for* Church-Government *but* A. B. Ushers *Modell of the* Primitive Episcopal Government. *When his Majesty would not grant us That Modell, nor the Bishops once Treat about it, he was pleased in his Gratious* Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs *to offer and prescribe the Episcopacy of* England *as it stood, with little alteration, &c.* (A Government (*says his Majesty*) *Fol.* 10. Which is established by Law, and with which the Monarchy hath flourished through so many Ages, and which is in truth as ancient in this Island as the Christian Monarchy thereof.) [*This Declaration we Joyfully and thankfully accepted, as a hopefull means of a Common Conformity and Concord.*] Non-Con's Plea, 2d. Part Pref.

Richards Account of the *Savoy-Conference.*

Ushers Primitive Episcopacy offer'd, but rejected.

The English Episcopacy submitted to by *Richard*, &c

Ba. [The English Prelacy (*I tell you*) is the product of proud Ambition and Arrogancy; and contrary to the expresse Command of Christ.] *R. B's. Five Disputations P.* 45. Bishops are Thorns and Thistles, and the Military Instruments of the Devil.] *R. B's.* Concord. P. 122. *How could you Justify then a Submission to such a Prelacy?*

But held Antichristian and Diabolical by *Baxter.*

Mo. If an Angel from Heaven I perceive were employ'd to bring you two to an Agreement, he should loose his Labour; For That which is highly *acceptable* to the *One*, and the *hopefull Foundation* of a *Common Concord*, is *Antichristian*, *Diabolical*, and *Unsufferable* to the *Other*.

Richard and *Baxter* never to be reconcil'd.

You are up (I find) at every Turn with the *Primates Project*, and in such a manner too, as if the most reasonable thing in the World had been offer'd on the One side; and refused on the Other: Whereas That Proposition was only accommodated to the hard Circumstances of the Kings Affairs, at the time of Framing it. Now tho' any man, in a case of Extremity, would submit to the loss of an Arm or a Leg, for the saving of his Life; it would yet be a very strange re-

The Ground of *A. B. Usher's* Project o *Episcopacy.*

queſt to ask a man in a ſtate of Freedome, and Safety, to part with a Leg or an Arm from his Body: And as wild a thing, on the other ſide, to Grant it. But the very offer at it under a pretenſe of *Conſcience*, was highly diſingenuous, eſpecially when upon the Iſſue the *Scruple* was remov'd by the *Refuſal*; and This Satisfaction given to the world, by your own Acknowledgment, that *Conformity* and *Epiſcopacy* may ſtand well enough together, when you pleaſe.

Many would have yielded to *Prelacy*. &c

Ri. *I cannot deny but that* [*many purpoſed to have yielded* to Prelacy, Liturgy, *and* Ceremonies.] Non-Con. Plea, Part I. P. 136.

The *Dioceſan Epiſcopacy* gratifies the Devil, ſays *Baxter*, and not to be readmitted.

Ba. Why truly [a Certain Epiſcopacy may be yielded to, for the Peace (if not for the Right Order) of the Church;] [But the *Dioceſan Epiſcopacy* which was lately in *England*, and is now laid by may not be lawfully reaſſumed, or readmitted, as a means for the Right Order or Peace of the Church.] *R. B's. Five Diſputation*, *P.* 2. 1659. [A Government which gratifyeth the Devil, and wicked men.] *Ibid.* P. 36.

R. and B. ſtill Claſhing.

Mo. Still upon the *Contradiction*. But if they were ſo well diſpos'd to come In, what was it I beſeech you that put them off again?

The New Uniformity ſpoil'd all.

Ri. *When they ſaw the* New Act *for* Uniformity, *their Deliberations were at an End.* Ibid. *P.* 26.

Prelacy Unlawfull in it ſelf ſays *Baxter.*

Ba. [After proving Prelacy to be againſt the Will of Chriſt, and the Wellfare of the Churches. *Five Diſp. Pref.* 16. and contrary to the word of God, and Apoſtolical Inſtitution, *Ibid. P.* 51. what need was there then of any further Diſſwaſion?

Why not Prelacy as lawful after the Act, as before?

Mo. Pray'e tell me Mr. *Richard*; Was Prelacy *Lawfull Before* the Act for Uniformity, and not *After*? You are Angry at the One, and therefore you Renounce the Other; for it was no longer *Prelacy*, *Liturgy*, or *Ceremonies*, it ſeems that you boggled at, but the

the *New Act*. Now since you your selves were convinc'd, that such a Conformity as aforesaid would have been *Warrantable*, and only transfer'd your Exceptions to the *New Act*; how comes it that you go on still decrying the *State*, *Rites*, and *Offices* of the *Church* to the *Multitudae*; and make That a matter of *Conscience* in *One breath* which you left at *Liberty* in *Another?* The *Uniformity* does not alter the case one jot to the *Common People*; but the *Layety* may as lawfully submit to *Prelacy*, *Liturgy* and *Ceremonies*, *After* the Act, as they did *before*.

It is the same case still to the People.

Ri. [*The People who now adhere to the* Non-Conformists, *who were at age before the Wars, had very hard thoughts of the* Bishops Persons; *and some, of* Episcopacy it self; *because of the* Silencing *of* Ministers, *and ruining of Honest men about* Sundays-sports, *Reading That Book, and other such things, beside* Nonconformity, &c. Non-Con. Plea, Part I. P. 139.

Hard thoughts of Episcopacy and Bishops, and upon what grounds

Mo. The *Bishops* and *Episcopacy* it self you say were thought hardly of; partly for *Silencing* your *Ministers*. Which was yet a way of proceeding Conformable to the directions of the *Law*; and in part, (among Other Provocations) for the *Book of Sports* upon the *Lords day*. Be it spoken with Reverence to the Honour and Duty of that Holy Day; I should have thought that the *Rebells* assaulting of their *Sovereign* at *Edge-hill* upon *That day*, might have given your *Scrupulists* as hard *thoughts* of the *Faction* that did it, and of those *Sanguinary Casuists* that sounded the *Trumpet* to *That Battle*. But how came they off I beseech you, from That froward Humour?

A Greater Scandall to travell upon the Lords day, then to give the King battle.

Ri. [*When the Ministers that guided them, began to seem more reconciled to the* Episcopal Party, *and upon the Reports and Promises which they had heard, that the next Bishops would prove more moderate, pious, and peaceable then the Former, and would by experience*

Richard Confesses that the Ministers guided the people.

and says that the Non-conformists undertook for the next Bishops good behaviour.

ence avoyd Divisions and Persecution; the said People began to be inclin'd to more Reverent and Favourable Thoughts of the Bishops, *and were upon experience of the late Confusions in a far fairer way to Union and Submission to them then before.* Non-Con. Plea, Part I. P. 139.

The Quarrel not to the Office of Bishops but to the persons

Mo. If it be True that the People were induced to have a more Charitable Opinion of the Prelates, by the Hopes which their Guides gave them of having better Bishops next bout; It appears, *first* that the Quarrel was not to the *Office*, but to the *Persons*. And *Secondly*, it shews that the Ministers menage the Multitude, *For* or *Against* their *Superiours*, as They please: which lays a stronger Obligation upon the Government, to secure a Well-affected Ministry, when the Publique Peace lyes at the Mercy of the Dissenting *Clergy*. But what becomes of us next?

Richards Reasons why the People fell from the Church again.

Ri. *When they saw their Teachers taken from them, and some such set over them against their Wills who were better known to them then to the Obtruders: And when they heard of about* 2000. *Silenced at once, This so much Alienated them from the Bishops, that it was never since in Our Power to bring them to so much Esteem of them, and Reverence for them as might have been.* Non-Con. Plea, Part I. P. 140.

The Uniformity made Episcopacy and Common-Prayer unlawfull

The first Law that Silences, and not the Bishops.

Mo. So that upon the Upshot, there pass'd an Act for *Uniformity*, *Ergo*, *Episcopacy* and *Common-Prayer* are *Unlawfull*.

See now what it is that you call *Silencing* of so many Ministers. It is no more then a fair Revival of those necessary Provisions for the Safety of the Government, which had been violently overborn and discontinu'd in our late Troubles: Upon which violation, ensued our Deplorable Confusions. And to take the business aright, the Law does not silence *your* Ministers more then it does *Ours*; but holds forth one *Common Rule* indifferently to *All men*, with a respect to *Politicall*, as well as *Ecclesiastical Concord*.

Every

Every man ſees before him the Conditions of his Freedom; and he that either Cannot, or Will not comply with the Terms of a General Rule, *Silenceth himſelf*. And it is not the *Man* neither that is *Silenced* by This Law, but this or that *Incongruous Practice* or *Opinion*. If *Richard* thinks fit to come *In*, there's no body *hinders* him; and if *John* will not come in, who can *help* it? In ſhort, This way of *Silencing* amounts to no more then a very Gentle Expedient for the ſtopping of thoſe Mouths that would be blowing the Coal toward a Rebellion. Wherefore I beſeech ye Gentlemen for the Act of *Oblivions* ſake, which has done a great deal more for you then This comes to, have ſome pitty for the poor Act of *Uniformity*.

Non-Conformiſts ſilence themſelves.

As to your account of about two thouſand Silenc'd Miniſters, a matter of 8. or 900. difference ſhall break no ſquares betwixt you and me. But what yet if they *Were* two thouſand? muſt the divine Ordinance of Government be prophan'd, and the harmony of Order Diſſolv'd, in favour of that Inconſiderable Party of *Irregulars*; and to the ſcandall of ſix times as many *Conſciencious* and *Obedient Subjects* of the State both *Eccleſiaſtical*, and *Civill*?

Better particulars ſuffe then the Order of Government be diſſolved.

Ri. *For my own part*, [*I do not know that I differ in any point of* Worſhip, Ceremonies, *or* Diſcipline, *from the Learned Dr* John Reignolds] R. B's Letter to Mr. Hinckley. *P.* 89. And my Judgment is, that [*a Peace with the Divines of the* Epiſcopal Judgment *is much to be deſired, and earneſtly endeavour'd.*] Five Diſp. Pag. 1.

Richard agrees with Dr. *Reignolds* who conform'd.

Mo. If you agree in the Concluſion with that Reverend *Dr.* you are ſafe; and take This for a *Rule*; Out of the ways of *Love* and *Peace* there can be no *Comfort*.

Ri. *Alas*

Richard pleads altogether for Love.

Ri. *Alas* [*It is a* Sect, *as a* Sect, *and a* Faction, *as a* Faction, *and not* this *or* that Sect *or* Faction *which I blame*: *It is* Unity, Love, *and* Peace *which I am pleading for*; *and he that is angry with me for calling men to* Love, *is angry for calling them to* Holyneſſe, *to* God, *and* Heaven. Holyneſſe *which is againſt* Love, *is a* Contradiction; *it is a deceiptfull name which* Satan *putteth upon* Unholyneſſe. Church Diviſions. Pref.

Baxters way of expreſſing it

Ba. Your Churches bear with Drunkards, Whoremongers, Railers, Open Scorners at Godlyneſſe, *Five Diſp. P.* 37. [The moſt ungodly of the Land are the forwardeſt for your ways. You may have allmoſt all the Drunkards, Blaſphemers, and Ignorant Haters of Godlyneſſe in the Country to Vote for you.] *Five Diſp. Pref.* Pag. 17. *To the Adherers to Prelacy.*

Richard againſt raſh cenſuring of others.

Ri. [*He is as Mortal an Enemy to* Love, *who* back-biteth, *and ſaith he's* Profane; *Or he is an* Empty Formaliſt, *or he is a* lukewarm, Temporizing, Complying Man-Pleaſer; *As he that ſaith he is a* peeviſh, Factious Hypocrite.] *To* Preach *without* Love, *and to* hear *without* Love, *and to* pray *without* Love, *and to* communicate *without* Love *to any that differ from your Sect, Oh what a loathſome Sacrifice is it to the God of* Love!] Church-Diviſions. Preface. Love *is the fulfilling of all the* Law; *the* End *of the* Goſpel; *the* Nature, *and* mark *of* Chriſts Diſciples; *the* Divine Nature; *the* Sum *of* Holyneſſe *to the Lord*; *the* Proper Note *by which to know what is the* man, *and what his* State; *and how far any of his* Other Acts *are acceptable unto God.* Ibid.

Baxter againſt *Richard*

Ba. How many years have we beg'd for Peace of thoſe that ſhould have been the Preachers and wiſeſt Promoters of Peace; and cannot yet obtain it; nor quiet them that call for fire and ſword, *not knowing what Spirit they are of? Non-Con. Plea, Pref.* [The *Declaration* about *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs* telleth us, that the *King* would have given the People *Peace*, but with *Unpeaceable Clergy-men*, No *Petition* could *prevail.*] *Ibid.* [And all This is out of a bitter Enmity to Gods word and ways; for they will be at more pains then This, in any way that is Evill; or in any Worſhip of *Mans deviſing*. They are as zealous for *Croſſes* and *Surplices*, *Proceſſions*, and *Perambulations*, reading a *Goſpell* at a *Croſſe-way*, the Obſervation of *Holy days*, the repeating of the *Litany*, or the like Forms in the *Common Prayer*, the bowing at the

Mr. *Baxters* Charity to the Clergy and diſcipline of the Church.

the name of the word *Jesus*, (while they reject his *Worship*) the receiving of the *Sacrament* when they have no *Right* to it, and that upon their *Knees*, as if they were more Reverent and Devout then the *true Laborious servants of Christ*; with a Multitude of things which are only the *Traditions* of their Fathers; I say they are as zealous for These, as if Eternal Life consisted in them. *Where God forbids them, there they are as forward as if they could never do enough*; and where God Commands them, There they are as backward to it; yea as much against it as if they were the Commands of the Devill himself. And for the Discipline of Christ, tho' all parts of the World have much opposed it, yet where hath it been so fiercely and powerfully resisted? The Lord grant that this harden'd, willfull, malicious Nation fall not under that Heavy Doom, *Luke* 19.27. *But those mine Enemies which would not that I should reign over them, bring them hither and* slay *them before me.* *R. B's. Saints Rest*, Part 3. P. 91.

His brotherly Love.

Church and State arraign'd.

Mo. To see the difference now Gentlemen, betwixt your two *Spirits*! The *One*, so *meek*, and like a *Christian*, the *Other*, so *clamorous* and so *Uncharitable*. What hopes of Unity and Peace; or what Pretence to't; so long as these dividing and defaming Liberties are kept afoot? Your Friend *Richard* tells you very well (Mr. *Baxter*) that *Such Holyness is a deceiptfull Name that* Satan *puts upon* Unholyness, and a *loathsom Sacrifice* to the *God of Love*. You revile the Government, and those that Conform to it, and yet at the same time you tell the People that you are persecuted.

Richard and *Baxter* of two quite different spirits.

The persecuted are the persecutors.

You would be thought kinder to his Majesty however, in devolving the severity from the *King* upon the *Clergy*; and yet his Majesty is pleased to mind you that [Since *the Printing this Declaration, severall Seditious Pamphlets* and Quæres *have been published, and scatter'd abroad, to infuse dislike and Jealousies into the hearts of the People, and of the Army, and some who ought rather to have repented the former mischief they have wrought, then to have endeavour'd to improve it, have had*

the hardyneſſe to publiſh that the Doctrine *of the Church, (againſt which no man with whom we have conferred hath excepted) ought to be reformed as well as the* Diſcipline.] So that all this yielding was too little, it ſeems to ſtop the Mouths of an Inſatiable Faction. But what is it at laſt that you would be at?

Be ſure firſt of what ſpirit the Non Conformiſts are.

Ri. *I beg of the Clergy that before they any more render Odious Theſe whom they never heard, and Urge Rulers to Execute the Laws againſt them; that is, to confine, Impriſon, Excommunicate, Silence, and Undo them, they would be ſure,* what manner of ſpirit they are of. *Non-con. Plea, Part I. Epiſtle.*

The ſpirit of the Non-Conformiſts.

Mo. [*Sure of what ſpirit you are*] do ye ſay? Why Certainly your own Conſcience tells you that we are ſure of that, as *Hearing, Seeing, Feeling,* and *Underſtanding* can make us. You are by your own Profeſſions, of the *Presbyterian Spirit.* The *Spirit* that made Perjury the Condition of Life, Liberty and Eſtate, to every man in the Caſe of your Covenant. The Spirit that Entred upon Sequeſtred Livings, and left not the Loyal Clergy the Freedome, ſo much as of Teaching a School; to ſupply themſelves, and their Miſerable Families with Bread. The Spirit that deny'd the King in his Diſtreſſes, the Comfort of ſo much as a Common-Prayer Book, or the Aſſiſtance of his own Chaplains.

His Late Majeſties Judgement & Experience upon it.

[*A greater Rigour and Barbarity then is ever uſed by Chriſtians, to the meaneſt Priſoners, and Greateſt Malefactors; whom though the Juſtice of the Law, deprive of Worldly Comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the Benefit of their Clergy, as not ayming at once, to deſtroy their Bodies, and to dam their ſouls,* EIK. BAS. 207. [*They that envy my being a King, are loth I ſhould be a Chriſtian; while they ſeek to deprive me of all thiugs elſe, they are affraid I ſhould ſave my Soul. Ibid.*] Behold here in a few words the *Spirit* that you plead for.

The ſpirit that *Richard* pleads for.

Ri.

Ri. *Alas poor Creatures,* [*We would* [*only*] *have a* Tóleration *of all that's* Tolerable [*he that will Tolerate* All, *is* Bad; *and he that will Tolerate* none *that differ, is* Madd.] R. B's anſwer to *Dr.* Stillingfleet. *P.* 84. Richards Toleration.

Mo. If the *Church* may be *Judge,* all that are *Tolerable* are *Tolerated allready*; If the *People* muſt be the *Judges,* the *Intolerable* muſt be *Tolerated* for *Company.* For ſo long as every Party Takes, or Pretends it ſelf, to be in the Right, all the Diſſenters have one Common Plea. But in caſe of any Indulgence to be allow'd, it is certainly due to theſe in preference, that are quieteſt without it. I cannot but have great Compaſſion for any Party that labours under a Religious and Invincible Diſagreement, and Modeſtly applies to Authority for Relief: For ſo long as they only tell their *own Tale,* I cannot but in charity believe that they have no other deſign then to do their *own buſineſſe.* But when a *Conſciencious Pretence* comes to be carry'd on by *Scandall, Invective, Reproach,* and ſuch Methods as are directly *Irreligious*; the diſpute is no longer matter of *Scruple,* or *Worſhip,* but *Superiority,* and *Power.* There may be *Religion* in telling the Government what you deſire, but the expoſing of your *Superiours* to the *People,* is *Down-right Sedition.* And, as you have handled the matter, you might e'en with as good a Grace tell the *Rabble* in *plain Engliſh*: *Look ye my Maſters, here's a company of* Anti-Chriſtian Swearing, Drinking Fellows, *that will not let us have* Liberty of Conſcience; But I would fain hear *you Two* debate the buſineſſe of *Toleration* a little betwixt your *ſelves.*

Who are the Judges, the Government, or the People?

Modeſt Diſſenters deſerve pity.

The Diſpute is not Scruple, but Power.

Plain dealing.

Ri. *What* [*if you ſhall ſmite or caſt out a ſuppoſed Schiſmatique, and Chriſt ſhall find an able, holy peaceable Miniſter, or other Chriſtian Wounded, or Mourning out of doors.* Pet. for Peace. P. 12. [*Or ſee a Schiſmatique wounded and a Saint found Bleeding, &c.* Saints Reſt. P. 130. Richard puts the Caſe of a Saint and a Schiſmatick

Baxter's Saints

Ba. *And now you talk of Saints, Richard* [to think of such a Friend dyed at such a time, and such a one at another time, such a pretious Christian slain in such a Fight, and such a one at such a Fight, (O what a number of them could I name) and that all these are enter'd into *Rest*; and we shall surely go to Them, but They shall not return to Us. *Saints Rest. P.* 100. [In That State of Rest, Angells as well as Saints will be Our blessed Associates. *Ibid. P.* 101. [I think Christians, This will be a more Honourable Assembly then you ever here beheld, and a more happy Society then you were ever of before. Surely *Pym* and *White*, &c. are now Members of a more *Knowing*, *Unerring*, *Well-order'd*, *Right aiming*, *Self-denying*, *Unanimous*, *Honourable*, *Tryumphant Senate*, then This from whence they were taken, is or ever Parliament will be. It is better be door-keeper to *That Assembly* whither *Twisse* &c. are Translated; then to have continu'd here the *Moderator* of *This*. *Saints Rest. P.* 101. [Nay how many Professors will rashly rail and lye in their Passions? How few will take well a Reproof, but rather defend their sin? How many in these times that we doubt not to be Godly have been guilty of Disobedience to their Guides, and of Schism, and doing much more to the hurt of the Church, a very great Sin. *Peter*, *Lot*, and 'tis like, *David* did oft commit greater Sins. *R. B*'s *Five Disput. of Right to Sacraments* P. 329. But a man must be guilty of more sins then *Peter* was in denying and forswearing Christ, that is notoriously ungodly; yea, then *Lot* was, who was drunk two nights together, and committed Incest twice with his own Daughters; and That after the miraculous destruction of *Sodom*, of his own wife, and his own miraculous Deliverance. Nay, a man that is notoriously ungodly (in the sense in hand) or Unsanctify'd, must be a greater sinner then *Solomon* was with his *Seven hundred Wives*, *three hundred Concubines*, and *grosse Idolatries*, P. 326. 327.

Baxter fully resolved to go to them that dy'd in Rebellion.

He joys to think what Company he shall have.

Baxter says, that Professors will rail, and lye, &c.

But that neither Perjury, drunkenness, Incest, Concubines, nor Idols, can make them notoriously ungodly.

Mo. And are These the *Saints* (Gentlemen) that you are afraid should be cast out, for *Schismatiques*? They must be of your own *Canonizing* then, for I assure you I finde *no such Saints* in *our Kalendar*. But let me hear I beseech you whom we are to keep *out*, and whom to take *in*.

The Saints that are cast out for Heretick.

Ri.

Ri. *We must either Tolerate All men to do what they will, which they will make a matter of* Conſcience *or* Religion; *and then ſome may offer their Children in ſacrifice to the* Devil; *and ſome may think they do God ſervice in killing his Servants*, &c. [*Or elſe you muſt Tolerate no Errour or fault in Religion; and then you muſt adviſe what meaſure of* Penalty *you will Inflict.* Church Diviſ. P. 363. 364

Either Tolerate *All* or *None*, but upon a Penalty.

Mo. The two great Difficulties will be to ſay what Errours *are* Tolerable, and what not; and then to bring the Magiſtrate and the People to an Agreement upon the matter.

Ri. [*If no Errour were to be Tolerated, no men were to be Tolerated and the Wiſeſt in the World muſt be numbred with the Intolerable, as well as the reſt.* Church Diviſ. P. 348.

No men muſt be Tolerated, if no Errour.

Ba. [But ſome People make thoſe things to be Duties which are no Duties, and Sins which are no Sins, calling Evil Good, and Good Evill; and having made a Religion of their own, confidently think that it is of God, valuing all men that they have to do with according as they are nearer or further off from This, which they account the way of God; chuſing a Church or Party to joyn with, by the Teſt of This Religion, which their Pride has Choſen. *Church Diviſ. P.* 11. [Thus they Divide the Kingdome and Family of Chriſt; deſtroying firſt the Love of Brethren and Neighbours in themſelves, and then labouring to deſtroy it in all Others; by ſpeaking againſt thoſe that are not in their own way with Contempt, and obloquy, to repreſent them as an Unlovely ſort of Men; and if the Intereſt of their Cauſe and Party require it, perhaps they will next deſtroy their Perſons: And yet all this is done in zeal of God, and as an Acceptable ſervice to him. *Ibid.* P. 12. [And they think it a reſiſting of the Spirit to reſiſt their Judgment. *P.* 13. [I have known too many very honeſt hearted Chriſtians, eſpecially Melancholique Perſons and Women who have been in great doubt about the Opinions of the *Millenaries*, the *Separatiſts*, the *Anabaptiſts*, the *Seekers*, and ſuch like; and after earneſt Prayer to God, they have been ſtrongly reſolved for the way of *Errour*, and Confident, by the ſtrong Impreſſion that

Baxter ſhews the Inconveniences of Toleration.

Pride makes one many Religion.

Faction another,

Which ends in bloud.

And yet paſſes for doing God good ſervice.

And the motion of the Spirit.

Enthuſiaſtick zeal.

that it was the Spirits Answer to their Prayers, and thereupon they have set themselves into a Course of Sin. *Ibid. P.* 162.

Doragestaken for Revelations.

And [In truth it is very Ordinary with poor phancyfull Women, and Melancholy Persons to take all their deep Apprehensions for Revelations. *Ibid. P.* 167.

Mo. Well; but these people all this while take themselves to be in the right.

Scripture the Rule.

Ba. But as for that which is Contrary to Scripture, I am sure it is contrary to the Will of God. *Church Divis. P.* 166.

But who must expound it?

Mo. Out of all doubt. But what if They expound the Scripture One way, and You Another?

One mans Faith must not Impose upon anothers.

Ba. [Why if they believe That themselves which they can give you no reason to believe, they must be content to keep their belief to themselves; and not for shame perswade any other to it without proof. If they say that God hath revealed it to them, tell them *that he hath not revealed it to You*, and therefore That's nothing to You, till they *prove* their *Divine Revelation*. If God reveal it to *them*, but for *themselves* they must *keep* it to themselves. *Ibid. P.* 166. [If they say that the spirit hath told Them the meaning of the Scripture, say as before that it is not *told* to *you* which is not *proved* to you. *Ibid.* 167.

Mistake will not justifie the Errour, nor excuse a Disobedience.

[But if we do through weakness or perverseness take *lawfull* things to be *unlawful*, That will not excuse Us in our disobedience. Our Errour is our Sin, and one Sin will not excuse another. *R. B's Five Disput. P.* 483.

Men will be zealous even in Errour.

[He that mistakingly thinks any thing is good or bad, Duty or Sin, which is not so, will be zealous in persute of his Mistake if he be serious for God. *Cath. Theol. Pref.*

More zeal then understanding is not good.

[It is an ill sign when your zeal is beyond the proportion of your Understanding: and your Prudence and Experience is much lesse then other mens, as your zeal is greater. *Church Divis. P.* 123.

None so fierce and bold as the Ignotant.

[Beside that the more weak and worthlesse, and Erroneous any ones Judgment is, usually the more furious are they in the prosecution of it, as if all were most certain truth which they apprehend. These are the boldest both in *Schisms*, and *persecutions*. *Ibid. P.* 357.

Mo. But

Mo. But you will say, that in cases where the common people may be imposed upon by *Credulity*, *Phansy*, or *Weakness*, they may repair to their Teachers to set them right.

Ba. Even the most of Teachers take abundance of things for true and good that are false and evill, and for false and bad, which are true and good: Much more are godly vulgar people Ignorant, and consequently erre in many things, *Cath. Theol. Pref.* [And I my self was mistaken in my *Aphorisms* of *Justification* and the *Covenants*, as I have acknowledged in the same Preface.

Even Teachers themselves are false Guides.

Mr. *Baxter* himself has been mistaken.

Mo. You have had very ill luck, Sir, with your *Aphorisms*.

Ill luck with his Aphorisms.

Ri. [*I must confess that when God had first brought me from among the more Ignorant sort of people, and when I heard Religious Persons pray without Form, and Speak affectionately, and seriously of Spiritual and Heavenly things, I thought verily that they were all undoubted Saints, till e're long, of those whom I so much honoured, one fell off to* Senfuality, *and to* Persecuting Formality; *and another fell to the foulest* Heresy, *and another to disturb the Churches Peace, by* Turbulent Animositys *and* Divisions. Church Divis. P. 23. 24. &c.

How *Richard* was wheedled in.

i.e. he was reconcil'd to the Church.

Ri. [*I thought once, that all that talk against Schisme and Sects, did but vent their Malice against the best Christians, under those Names; But since Then, I have seen what* Love-killing-Principles *have done. I have long stood by while Churches have been divided, and Subdivided; one Congregation of the Division labouring to make the other Contemptible, and odious; and This called, the Teaching of Truth, and the purer Worshiping of God*; Church-Divisions. Pref.

Richards best Christians found to be Schismaticks.

Ba. [When so great a man as *Tertullian* was deceived by *Montanus*, and his *Propheteſſe*: When such a one as *Hacket* could deceive not only *Coppenger*, and *Arthington*, but abundance more; when *David George* in *Holland*, *John* of *Leiden* in *Munster*, &c. could deceive so many persons as they did; when the

Great men misled, and why not Mr. *Baxter*.

Believe not every spirit.

the pretended *Revelations* of the *Ranters*, *First*, and the *Quakers After*, could so marvellously transport many Thousands of professors of Religion in this Land, I think we have fair warning to take the Counsell of *St. John. Believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirit whether they be of God. Church Divis. P.* 164.

The Dissenters Cause is still Gods cause Their false Prophets.

[Alas! how common was This in the Army, to set up and Pull down, do and undo, own and disown, as by the Spirit of God! There was Mr. *Erbery*, Mr. *Saltmarsh*, M. *Dell*, Mr. *William Sedgwick*, who as from God wrote one week to the Army, against their putting the King to Death, and the next week wrote to them quite on the other side, and that set *London* by a Prophecy or Vision on looking for the day of Judgment, on a set day. *Second Admon. to* Bagshaw. *P.* 68. *Vavasor Powell* at *Clifton* upon *Thame* in *Worcestershire*, quickly after *Worcester Fight*, said in his Sermon that *he would tell them these things as from God that they should have no more Kings, nor any more Taxes, nor pay any more Tithes. Ibid. P.* 69.

The Kings death directed by a Revelation.

Sedgwick's day of Judgement.

Vavasor Powell's Prophecy of no more Kings or Taxes.

Mo. Pray'e do but consider now, if your particular Pastors disagree among themselves; if you your self, Mr. *Baxter*, have been mistaken in your Judgement as well of *Truth* in *Notion*, as of *Persons*; If those that you took for *Saints*, proved *Schismaticks*; and *Persecutors*, those that you took for *Conscientious Professors*, are we not much better in the hand of a known and Impartiall Law that cannot deceive us, then at the Mercy of a wilde *Multitude*, *Unknown* and *Prepossess'd*, who in all probability will impose upon us?

Rather the Law of the Land then the Humour of the people.

Ri. *A Fear of sinning is necessary in all that will be Obedient to God, and will be saved: It is that Fear of God which is the beginning of Wisdom. It is therefore to be loved and cherished, even when Scrupulousness mistaketh the matter.* Non-Con. Plea. 2d. Part P. 163,

A Fear of sinning ought to be cherished, even in a mistake.

Ba. There's no trusting to *Scruples*. [I have known some that have liv'd long in doubts and fears of Damnation who have turn'd *Anabaptists*, and sodainly had Comfort; and yet in a short

Dangerous trusting to scruples.

a short time they forsook that *Sect*, and turn'd to another. I have known those also that have liv'd many years in timorous Complaints, and fears of Hell, and they have turned to the *Antinomians*, and sodainly been comforted; and others have turned *Arminians* (which is clear contrary) and been comforted; and others have but heard of that Doctrine of *Perfection in this Life*, and sodainly been past their fears, as if *hearing* of *Perfection* had made them *perfect*: And from thence they have turned *Familists*, and at last shew'd their *Perfection* by *Fornication*, and *Licentiousnesse* and meer *Apostacy*; who yet liv'd very conscientiously and blamelessely, as long as they liv'd in their Fears and Troubles, *P.* 170. *Church Divis.*

[Could I have believed him that would have told me five years ago (*This bearing date Jan.* 15. 1649.) that when the * Scorners of Godlinesse were subdu'd, and the bitter persecutors of the Church overthrown; that such should succeed them who suffered with us, who were our Intimate Friends, with whom we took sweet Counsel, and went up together to the House of God? Did I think it had been in the hearts of men professing such zeal to Religion, and the ways of Christ, to draw their Swords against each other: and to seek each others Bloud so fiercely? Alas! if the Judgment be once perverted, and Errour hath perverted the Supreme Faculty, whether will men go, and what will they do? *O what a potent Instrument for Satan is a misguided Conscience*! It will make a man kill his deerest Friend, yea Father or Mother, yea, the Holyest Saint, and think he doth God good service by it: And to facilitate the work, it will first blot out the Reputation of their Holynesse, and make them take a *Saint* for a *Devil*. *Saints Rest. P.* 133. [Whence can it be, but for want of self-denyall, that Magistrates professing a zeal for Holynesse regard no more the Interest of Christ; but that the *Name* (and but the *Name*) of *Liberty*, (a *Liberty* that hath neither Moral Good, or Evill in it) is set in the ballance against the things of everlasting Consequence, and thought sufficient to overweigh them; And that the meer pretense of this Indifferent Carnal *Liberty* is thought an Argument of sufficient weight for the Introduction of a *wicked*, *Damning Liberty*, even a *liberty* to *deceive*, and *destroy* as many as they can, and to hinder those that desire mens Salvation. *R.B's Self-denyal Epist. Monitory.* [Shall every man have leave to do evill, that can be Ignorant enough to

Who would have thought it?

* The Episcopal Clergy.

Simeon and *Levi*.

O the force of a mis-guided Conscience!

The very Case of the seduced multitude.

The Name of Liberty does more then the consideration of Heaven it self.

Baxter ag. Liberty.

think (or say he thinks) that he doth well? And must Magistrates rule as men that are Uncertain whether there be a Christ, or a Church, or Heaven, or Hell; because some are found in their Dominions so foolish, or Impious as to be Uncertain of it? *Ibid.* [Will mercyfull Rulers set up a trade for butchering of Souls, and allow men to set up a shop of poyson, for all men to buy and take that will, yea to proclaim this poyson for Souls in *Streets*, and *Church Assemblies*? &c. *Ibid.* But the same Argument that tempts the sensuall to Hell; doth tempt such Magistrates to set up *Liberty* for drawing men to Hell. *Ibid.* Is Faith and Holyneſſe propagated by *Perswasion*, and not by *Force*? Surely then Infidelity, Popery and Ungodlyneſſe are Propagated by Perswasion too; Again I tell you, self-love doth make such Rulers wiser then to grant Commission at liberty to all that will, to tice the Souldiers to Mutinies and Rebellion, &c. *Ibid.* Liberty, in all matters of Worship, and of Faith, is the open and apparent way to set up Popery in the Land. *Non-Con. Plea. Pref.*

And Toleration.

Liberty the way to set up Popery.

Mo. Well Mr. *Richard:* After *this* frank and sensible Declaration of your self upon this Chapter, do but teach me which way in the world to reconcile your *Practice* and your *Conscience*; for you are a Person certainly of all men Living, the most Improper Advocate for a *Toleration*; and the most unfit *Solicitor* of a *Popular Petition*. *First*, as your *Judgement* lies directly against the thing you pleade for. *Secondly*, as you are conscious of the *danger*, as well as the *Injustice* of such a *License*. *Thirdly*, you have been a very *unhappy Instrument already* betwixt his *Majesty* and his *Subjects*. And *Lastly*, In demanding That over again from This King, by which his Father was destroy'd, you make your self suspected to have some Ill Designe: For to Triumph and Rejoyce (as you do) after the Thing is done, is lesse, a great deal, then to forethink the doing of it. And it is not only that you are sufficiently convinc'd of the mischiefs of a *Toleration*, but *your Conscience* (if I be not much mistaken)

Mr. *Richard* an Improper Advocate for Toleration.

ſtaken) will make as good ſhift as any mans *without* it.

Ri. [*We are againſt* no Biſhops *or* Church-Government *of* Gods Appointment. Prof. of Nonconformiſts. P. 89. [*We hold it not unlawful to take Oaths, and make Covenants, Subſcriptions, or Declarations of things Lawfull, when Authority commandeth us.* Ibid. P. 98. *We readily Subſcribe the doctrine of the* 39. *Articles.* Ib. 98. *We are far from condemning all* Forms of Prayer, *and* Publick Liturgy, P. 100. *We pick no Quarrells about* Forms, *and* Words. *Church-Div.* p. 176. [*Tell me if you can, where God* forbids *you to uſe Good and Lawfull Words in Prayer, meerly becauſe the Magiſtrate, or Paſtor bids you uſe them. Is this the meaning of all the Precepts of Honouring, and Obeying your Superiours?* [*Do nothing which they bid you do, though otherwiſe Lawful*] *O Strange Expoſition of the* 5*th Commandement?* p. 178. [*I take the Common Prayer to be Incomparably better then the Prayers or Sermons, of many that I hear; and to be the beſt that I expect in many places when I go to Church.* RBs. Letter to M. Hinckly p. 78. [*It's like, the* Pharifees *Long* Liturgy, *was in many things worſe then Ours, though the* Pſalmes *were a great part of it: and yet Chriſt, and his Apoſtles oft joyned with Them, and never Condemned them.* Ch. Div. P. 176. [*He is voyd of Common ſenſe that thinketh that his* Extemporary Prayer *is not as truly a* Form *to all the* People, *as if it had been written in a* Book. *And every Publick Miniſter Impoſeth a* Form *of Prayer upon all the Congregation.* Ibid. 179. [*We hold, not all the uſe of* Images, *even the Images of* Holy Perſons, *to be Unlawfull.* Profeſſion of Nonconformiſts. P. 104. [*We hold not a Gown, or other meer diſtinctive Garment for Miniſters to be Unlawful. And ſome of us hold a Surplice rather to be uſed, then the Miniſtry forſaken.* Ibid. [*Many of us hold it Lawfull to communicate Kneeling.* Ibid. p. 105. [*We all hold that God muſt be Orderly, and* Decently Worſhipped *with the* Body, *as well as* Spiritually, *with the* minde. *And that Reverend Geſtures, and Behaviours are fit, not only to expreſſe* Mental Reverence *to God, but alſo to* Excite it, *in our ſelves and others.* Ibid. 105. *We are for the uſe of the Creed, Commandements, and Lords Prayer.* p, 106.

Richard is a Conformiſt.

Ba. [It is now about Twenty Years ſince I Preach'd at a Faſt to the Parliament for Loyalty; *the King the next morn-*

ing was voted home to his Crown, and Government, 2d part. of Non-Con. Plea. Preface. In This Sermon, I have given the World a Taſt of my Affections to the Church. [Gentlemen, I have nothing to ask of you for my ſelf, nor any of my Brethren, as for Themſelves; but that *you will be Friends to Serious Preaching, and Holy Living*, and will not *enſnare our Conſciences with any Unſcripturall Inventions of men.* This I would beg of you as on my Knees. 1. As *for the ſake of Chriſt.* 2. *for the ſake of Thouſands of poor Souls.* 3. For *the Sake of Thouſands of the dear Friends of the Lord.* 4. For *your own ſakes.* 5. For *the ſake of your Poſterity.* 6. For *the Honour of the Nation and your Selves.* 7. For *the Honour of Sound doctrine, and Church-Government.* &c. *Pa.* 45. & 46. For if you *Frown on Godlyneſſe*, under pretenſe of *Uniformity in Unneceſſary things*; and make things worſe then when *Libertiniſm*, and *Schiſme* ſo prevayl'd: the people will look back with Grones, and ſay; *What happy times did we once See!* And ſo will honour *Schiſme*, and *Libertiniſme, and Uſurpation* through *Your Oppreſſion.* 8. I beg this of you for the *Honour* of *Sovereignty, and the Nations Peace. Ibid.* And then, for your [new-made Religions, and needleſs Scandalous Inventions, and an adoring of your Titles and Robes of Honour, covering your Ignorance, Pride, and Senſuality, which Church Tyrants call the *Order* of the Church. &c. [All the *Images* of Piety, Government, Unity, Peace, and Order, which Hypocrites and Phariſees ſat up, are deſpiſed Engines to deſtroy the Life and Serious Practice of the things Themſelves, and are ſet up in Enmity againſt Spirituality, and Holyneſſe, that there might be no other Piety, Government, Unity, Peace, or Order in the Church, but Theſe Liveleſs Images. *Ch. Div. Pa.* 105. & 106.

M. *Baxters* Sermon that brought the King in.

Presbytery for the Lords ſake

Oh the happy times when Presbyterians rul'd.

Have a care of ſcandalous Inventions.

The Ignorant Church-Tyrants.

Ri. [*Though we are not ſatisfied of the lawfullneſs of uſing the* Tranſient Image *of the Croſſe, as a* dedicating Sign, *and* Symbol *of* Chriſtianity, *ſo much Sacramental (much leſſe to refuſe from Baptiſme, and Chriſtendome, all Chriſtian Infants, unleſſe they will have them ſo Croſſed, no more then if a Crucifix were ſo Impoſed, and uſed) yet do we not Condemn* all uſe *of either Croſſe, or Crucifix. Nor do we preſume Conſcientiouſly to Reproach, and diſhonour the* Antient Chriſtians, *who living among* Pagans *that derided Chriſt Crucify'd, did ſhew them, by oft uſing this ſign, that they were not aſhamed of the Croſſe. And though we find, that they uſed more Rites,*

Richard not absolutely againſt the Croſs.

and

and significations, deviſed Signs, and Ceremonies, then we think they ſhould have done, yet we judg it our Duty to love and honour their Memorial; Nor do we take all Rites to be Sinfull *that are ſignificant.* Non-conformiſts Profeſſion *Pa.* 103. 104.

Ba. You are not ſatisfy'd of the *Lawfulneſſe*, &c. *you* ſay. But are you convinc'd of the *Unlawfulneſſe*? For [we muſt obey Magiſtrates though we know not that their Commands are *Lawful*, ſo long as they are ſo Indeed, and we have no ſufficient reaſon to believe them Unlawfull. *Holy Com. Theſis.* 323. For [It is not our *E*rroneous Conceits, that a Lawfull Command is Unlawfull, that will excuſe any man from the Guilt of Diſobedience. *Ibid.* 357. [But if a thing ſeem to you very *needfull* to a Good End, and yet the *word be againſt it*, avoid it: &c. [And if you think that the *Scripture* commandeth you This or That Poſitive *means*, if *Nature* and *True Reaſon* aſſure you that it is againſt the *End*, and is like to do much more harm, then good, be aſſured that you miſtake That Scripture. *Ch. Diviſ. pa.* 205.

Baxter's a Royalliſt.

Errour is no Excuſe for diſobedience.

The Pretence of Nature, and true Reaſon avoids all Law

Mo. It is a ſtrange thing Mr. *Richard*, that your Conſcience ſhould be ſo *eaſy* to your *ſelf*, and yet ſo *Troubleſome* to the *Government*. But your Reſerve of leaving every Private man to judge, Firſt, of the Condition of the *Law*, by the *Word*; and Then, of his *Judgment* of That *Scripture*, whether it be *Right* or *Wrong*, by *Nature* and *Right Reaſon*: This Reſerve I ſay undoes all again: For every man that does *Ill*, with a *Good Intention*, reckons that he has *Nature* and *Right Reaſon* on his ſide.

A Popular Fallacy.

Now for You Mr. *Baxter*; you tell us over and over ſo often of your *Faſt-Sermon* to the Houſe of Commons, and the Kings being called in the next day, as if That very Sermon had wrought his Majeſties Reſtauration. But I find upon Peruſall of it that you are juſt as kind to the Church in this Peice of 1660. as you were a little before to his Majeſty in your *Holy Common Wealth* of 1659. That is to ſay; you are begging

The Presbyterian way of bringing in the King.

ging, arguing, and Casing of it all that is in you, to keep them both out; and truly This Particular piece of yours makes almost as bold with the *King himself*, as with the *Episcopal Clergy*: as you shall hear by and by. Was it not enough for you to *Adjure* the *Commons* into an Opposition of That *Order* in the *Church*, which (as he tells you,) is as *Antient* as the *Monarchy* of This *Island*? An *Order*, that *you* and *your Confederates* most Undutyfully *destroy'd*? But could you now have the Confidence to demand the spoyls again, which *you* first ravish'd from the *Church*, and the *Independents* afterward took from *you*, as the Reward of your *Sedition*, and *Schism*? And could you yet have the greater Confidence, in case of a Disappointment, to break out into this most *Unchristian Exclamation*, on the behalf of the People? Oh: [*What happy times did we once see!* That is to say; when the *Kingdome* was Laid in *Bloud*, and *Ashes*; all that was *Sacred*, *trampled under Foot*, And all this *Confusion*, only to heave the *Presbyter* into the *Saddle*.

Richards challenge,

Ri. *I have described the Judgment of such* Non-Conformists *as I have Conversed with, (not undertaking for every odd person whom I know not) I do desire those that seek our* Bloud, *and* Ruine, *by the false Accusation of Rebellious Principles, to tell me if they can,* [what

In justification of the Non-Conformists.

Bodies, or Party of men on Earth have more sound *and* Loyall Principles *of* Government, *and* Obedience. 2d. Part. Non-Con. Plea. *Pref.* [*Our Accusations are.* 1. *That we are* Presbyterians,

The Non Conformists charge.

and Phanatiques. 2. *That we began the War in* 1641. *and* 1642. 3. *That we destroy'd the King.* 4. *That our Principles are Disloyal.* 5. *That we are Plotting a Rebellion.* Ibid. But what is a *Presbyterian*?

A Presbyterian defin'd.

Mo. A Presbyterian is a Member of a State-Faction, under a Religious denomination. For by that *Name* we do not understand such as are really of That *Classical* and *Whymsical Profession*; but a sort of People that drive

drive on a *Policical design*, under the Colour of an *Ecclesiastical Scruple* of *perswasion*. And in as extensive a Latitude do you take the Word, your selves. For all the *Sects* are *Presbyterians* (or *Dissenting Protestants*, as you call them) when you have need of them in Confederacy against the Government; though the *Presbyterians* spews all the rest up again, (as they did in 1647. when they had done their work;) But pray what say ye to the *Beginning* of the *War*?

Presbyterians swallow up all other sects at first, and then spew them up again.

Ri. [*In* 1642. *the Lamentable Civil War broke out*; *At which time as far as ever we could learn by Acquaintance with some of them, and Report of others, excepting an Inconsiderable number, the Houses of Lords and Commons consisted of Those that had still lived in Conformity to the Church of* England, *and the Episcopall Government*, &c. 1 Part. Non-Conform. Plea, p. 126. [*The Lord Lieutenants whom the Parliament chose, were almost all* Episcopall Conformists, Ibid. [*The* far Greater Part *of the Generall Officers, Colonells, Lieutenant-Colonels, and Majors of the* Earl of Essex *his Army*; *And of the Sea-Captains, and of the Major-Generals of* Brigades, *and* Counties *about the Land*, Ibid. [*The* Assembly of Divines *at* Westminster *also*, *were men that had lived in Conformity, except about* 8. *or* 9. *and the* Scots, p. 127.

Richard says that the Episcopal men began the war. The two Houses, Lord Lieutenants, Officers Civil and Military, Assembly of Divines, almost all Episcopal men.

Mo. You do well *Richard* to say that they *HAD* Lived in *Conformity*, for the Complying humour was now going off apace; Insomuch that a profest opposition to the Orders of the Church became quickly a distinguishing mark of the disloyal Party: And all those *Parliament-men*, *Officers*, and *Assembly-Divines*, Contributed Unanimously in their several Stations toward the Common Ruine. On [*Fryday Dec.* 11. 1640. A Petition was brought into the House by *Aldermin Pennington* from the Citizens of *London*, in the name of 15000. Complaining of the *Church-Discipline*, in having *Arch Bishops*, *Bishops*, &c. Using the *Crosse* in *Baptisme*; *Kneeling* at the *Communion-Table*, as unlawful.

The Kings engag'd Enemies were all dissenters.

Episcopacy strook at before the War.

lawfull in the *Protestant Church. Diurnal Occurrences. Pa.* 12. *Jan.* 13. Petitions against the Government of Bishops from Several Counties. *P.* 19. *Jan.* 13. The Remonstrance with 700. hands against the Bishops and their *Prelacy* was read, *P.* 33. *March* 7. A Bill against Episcopacy read in the House of Commons, &c. *Pa.* 47. *Mar.* 10. 1640. Bishops Votes in Parliament taken away, *Pa.* 49. In *Novem.* 1641. several Tumults against Bishops, and *Dec.* 11, 12. Bishops accused of High-Treason. The Bishops in the mean time Petitioning his Majesty, and entring a Protest of their Priviledges, and against Tumults. *Apr.* 9. 1642. A due and necessary Reformation of the Government and Liturgy of the Church pretended. *Ex. Col. P.* 135.

It is to be hoped, that all These violences upon the Ecclesiastical State, and the Persons of the Bishops, were not acted by Conformists. And it will not be deny'd, I suppose that after the Posting and Proscribing of the Greater part of the Clergies Friends, (as well as the Kings) The Schismaticall Interest was carry'd on by the Major vote of the Remaining Fragment; and all This was before the Eruption of the War; the Earl of *Essex* not receiving his Commission, till *July* 12. 1642. Unless you'le say that *Episcopall* men themselves, were for the *Extirpation* of *Bishops*.

The Parliament brought in the *Scots*.

Few worthier Assemblies since the Apostles days.

Ri. [When *the* Parliaments Armys *were worsted and weakned by the King, and they found themselves in danger of being Overcome, they entreated help from the* Scots (*'tis true*) *who taking advantage of their streights, brought in the* Covenant, *as the* Condition *of their* help. Non-Conf. 1 part. p. 27. *And for the* Assembly [*I think I have not read of many* Assemblies *of* Worthier men *since the* Apostles days. Answ. to Dr. Stillingfleet. p 84. *The* Covenant *and* Vow, *was taken by the* Parliament, *and by their* Garisons, *and* Soldiers *that would voluntarily take it as a Test whom they might* Trust

Truſt Non-Conf. Plea. p. 128. [*The* Aſſembly *never endeavoured to turn the* Independents *out of the* Pariſh-Churches, *and* Benefices, *nor to Silence them*; *forbidding them Publick Preaching, as you do us*, &c. Anſw. to Dr. Stillingf. p. 84. *They Impoſed no* Liturgy, *no one* Ceremony; *no* Practiſe *on them, contrary to their* Conſcience, p. 85. *The* Presbytery *being only a* Tolerated, *or* Intended thing, *without any* Impoſition *that ever we knew of.*

Their good nature toward the Independents.

Mo. It is very well known what pains your Celebrated Aſſembly took to make the City bleed for That *Scottiſh* expedition, and we have the *Guild-hall Harangues* on That Occaſion, ſtill upon Record. But I ſhall rather mind you of ſome Proceedings which you would be thought to have forgotten; to the Immortal Honour of your Confederates. Only half a dozen Words in the way to it.

The Guild-Hall harangues that brought in the Scots.

It is no wonder for men that have ſo low an Eſteem for *Generall Counſells*, as both *You* Sir, and Mr. *Baxter* profeſſe to have, in ſeveral of your Writings, to entertain yet very Reverend Thoughts of the *Pybald Aſſembly*. His Late Majeſty had quite another Opinion of them. See his *Proclamation, Inhibiting the Aſſembly of Divines, and others Summoned to* Weſtminſter, *by an Ordinance of Both Houſes of Parliament.* Bibliotheca Regia. P. 328. *Jun.* 22. 1643.

Hss Majeſties Proclamation againſt the Aſſembly of Divines. Jun. 22. 1643.

Whereas there hath been a long time, a deſperate and Seditious deſign amongſt diverſe Factious perſons, to alter the whole Frame, Conſtitution, and Government of this Church; ſo long and ſo happily Eſtabliſhed within this Kingdome; in perſuance whereof they have diſcountenanced, and in a manner ſuppreſſed the Book of Common Prayer, *ſettled by Law; driven away, Impriſoned, Removed, very many Learned,* Orthodox, *Godly Divines, and Miniſters from their Cures, for diſcharging their duty and Conſcience in Preaching: and in their places, without the leaſt colour or ſhadow of Lawfull Authority, have Inſtitu-*

Painful, Able, Laborious Ministers.

The Loyal Presbyterians.

The Reformation begun

ted, or Deputed mean Factious Persons, Unqualify'd with Learning or Vertue; to corrupt and poyson the minds of our Good Subjects, with Principles of treason and Rebellion, and have seized the Rents and Revenues of our Bishops, Deans and Chapters, for their own private Lucre, or Benefit, and for the Maintenance of the Army in Rebellion against us.

Pray Observe my Friends, that this was before the *Scots* were call'd in; and the work of men too in Opposition to the Church: I come now to your *Apostolical Assembly.*

Kings Proclamation.

A Dutifull Proposition.

The Worthy Assembly.

Since These bloudy distempers, and when so many Armies are on Foot in severall parts of the Kingdome, a Bill hath been presented to us for the Calling of an Assembly, *of such Divines, as are mentioned in the said Bill, the far greater part whereof are men of no Reputation or Learning; and eminently disaffected to the Government of the Church of* England *: and very many of them are persons who have openly preached Rebellion, and excited the People to take up Armes against us, and so are not like to be proper Instruments of Peace, in Church, or State; which Bill having many Clauses in it very derogatory to our Honour, and Just Rights, and very Scandalous to the Reformed Protestant Religion : not so much as any part being left to Us, either in the Choice of the Persons, or in Adjourning or Dissolving the Assembly.* Bib. Regia. *Pa.* 329.

The Kings Authority excluded.

What do ye think now of the *Worthy Assembly*? your [Men *of sound, and Loyall Principles* of *Government*, and *Obedience*. These are the Men that you declare your selves Resolved to *stand* or *fall* by: (and out of your own mouths a Man may warrant This Assertion; that you are no better Friends to *This King*, then *that Parliament* and *that Assembly* were to the *Last*. Methinks This Testimony of his Late Majesty, against your designs, and Proceedings, should move your

Con-

Consciences and stare you in the Faces, as if it were his Ghost.

You would have the world believe that the *Covenant* was never Imposed, but that people might take it, or let it alone, as they pleased; That the *Assembly* silenced no body; forced nothing; and that Presbytery was only as a *Tolerated*, or *Intended* thing, *&c.* Now how great an Abuse this is upon That part of the Nation that does not know the story, will appear out of the Memorials of These Times, under the Authority of the Faction it self. An Abuse put upon the Nation.

The Lords and Commons took the Vow and Covenant *Jun.* 6. 1643. *Husbands Collections. Fol.* 203. and thought fit to have it taken by the Armies, and Kingdome. *Ibid.* Arch-Bishop of *Canterburies* Temporal Livings, Dignities, and Ecclesiastical Promotions Sequestred, *June* 10. 1643. *Fol.* 207. An Ordinance for calling an Assembly of Learned Divines. (*Thirty of the Layety, in the Commission.*) *June* 24. 208. An Order for Ministers upon the Fast-day to pray for a blessing on this Assembly. *June* 27. 43. The Assembly Petitions Both Houses for a Fast, and the removing of Blind Guides, and Scandalous Ministers; destroying Monuments of Idolatry, *&c. July* 10. 1643. *Fol.* 240. [An Order for Divines that attend the Assembly, to go into the Countrey to stir up the people to rise for their Defense. *Aug.* 10. 1643. *Fol.* 285. [An Ordinance for taking away of Superstitious Monuments. *Aug.* 28. 1643. *Fol.* 307. An Ordinance to examine Witnesses against Scandalous Ministers, *Sep.* 6. 1643. *Fol.* 311. Souldiers to take the Covenant, *Octob.* 10. *Fol.* 359. An Order for the Assembly of Divines, to treat of a Discipline and Government, the present to be abolished, and to prepare a Directory. *Octo.* 12. 1643. *Fol.* 362. An Order for returning the An Extract of Parliament Proceedings, 1643. The Assembly stir up the people to rise.

Names of ſuch as take not the Covenant, to the Houſe of Commons, *Nov.* 30. 1643. *Fol.* 390. An Order for diverſe perſons to take the Covenant at *Margarets Weſtminſter. Dec.* 12. 1643. *Fol.* 399. An Ordinance diſabling any perſon within the City of *London*, from any place of Truſt, that ſhall not take the Covenant. *Dec.* 20. 1643. *Fol.* 404. An exhortation for taking the Covenant, *&c. Feb.* 9. 1944. *Fol.* 422. An Order for taking it throughout the Kingdomes of *England*, and *Scotland*, with *Inſtructions. Feb.* 9. 1644. *Fol.* 420. A Second Order for demoliſhing Superſtitious Monuments. *May* 9. 1644. *Fol.* 487. An Order for none to Preach, but Ordained Miniſters, except allowed by Both Houſes of Parliament. *May* 6. 1645. *Fol.* 646. An Order for putting the Directory in Execution. *Aug.* 11. 1645. *Fol.* 715. Severall Votes for choice of Elders throughout all *England*, and *Wales. Feb.* 20. 1646. *Fol.* 809. An Order for taking the Negative Oath, and National Covenant. *Jun.* 2. 1646. *Fol.* 889. An Order for putting the Orders for Church-Government in execution. *Jun.* 9. 1646. *Fol.* 889. An Order for dividing the County of *Lancaſhire*, into 9. *Claſſes, Octob.* 2. 1646. *Fol* 919. An Order for Aboliſhing Arch Biſhops, and Biſhops, and ſettling their Lands upon Truſtees for the uſe of the Common Wealth. *Octob.* 9. 1646. *Fol.* 992. An Order for the ſpeedy dividing and ſettling of ſeveral Counties of This Kingdome, into diſtinct *Claſſical Presbyteries*, and *Congregationall Elderſhips. Jan.* 19. 1647. *Scobells Acts*, 139. The Form of Church-Government to be uſed in the Church of *England*, and *Ireland*, agreed upon by the Lords and Commons, aſſembled in Parliament, after Advice had with the Aſſembly of Divines. *Aug.* 29. 1648. *Fol.* 165.

By

By this time I hope you are satisfy'd that it was a Presbyterian War according to the very Letter, Or if the Nonconformists did not begin the War, pray'e who did ?

Prov'd to be a Presbyterian War.

Ri. *Our Calamityes* began *in* Differences about Religion, *and still Thats the wound that most needs Closing*, &c. R. Bs. Fast Sermon. 1660. p. 41.

Richard says, the War began about Religion.

Ba. Do not you know, that write about the Cause, that the War was not founded in *Theologicall differences*, but in *Law differences? R. Bs Letter to Mr. Hinckly.* p. 25,

Baxter says, it began about matter of Law.

Ri. *The first open beginning was the* Militia, Non. Conf. Plea, p. 126.

Richard says, 'twas about the Militia.

Ba. I know how unsatisfy'd many are concerning the Lawfullness of the War; I cannot yet perceive by any thing which they object, but that we undertook our Defence upon warrantable Grounds. The extirpation of Piety was the then great Designe, which had so far succeeded, that very many of the most able Ministers were silenced; Lectures, and Evening-Sermons on the Lords Day suppressed; Christians imprisoned, dismembred, and *Banished*; the Lords Day reproached, and devoted to Pastimes; that it was as much as a mans Estate (at least) was worth, to hear a Sermon abroad, when he had none, or worse at home; To meet for Prayer, or any Godly Exercise; and that it was a matter of Credit, and a way to Preferment to revile at, and be enemies against those that were most Conscientious; And every where safer to be a drunkard, or an Adulterer, then a Painfull Christian: And that multitudes of Humane Ceremonies took place, when the worship of Christs Institution was cast out, besides the slavery that Invaded us in Civil Respects: So am I MOST CERTAIN that this was the work which *We took up Arms to resist*: And these were the Offenders whom we endeavoured to Offend. And many of those that scruple the Lawfulness of our War, did never Scruple the Lawfullness of destroying us; nor of that dolefull havock, and Subversion that was made in the Church of Christ amongst us.

Baxter says, the War was made for Reformation.

A lewd scandal upon the late Kings Government.

The

The fault was, that we would not more willingly change the Gospel for Ignorance, and our Religion for a Fardel of Ceremonies. *R. Bs. Saints Rest.* p. 257, 258.

Richard will not allow of war for Religion.

Ri. [*But the Kings Subjects may not enter into Leagues, Covenants and Arms against him, without his consent, and Laws, meerly to propagate Religion and Reformation in the Kingdom.* Non-Conf. Plea, 2d part, pa. 77. [*If Governors command us to sin against God, Subjects must not obey, but yet not Resist; Much less take up Arms to Reform Others, or even to bring in a True Religion by Unauthorised Violence.* Ibid, p. 56.

Baxter is for a Religious War.

They are fools that think otherwise.

Ba. It is but a delusory course of some in These Times that write many Volumes, to prove, that *Subjects* may not bear Arms against their *Princes* for *Religion*. *Ho. Common-wealth*, p. 441. [It is either Confusion and Ignorance of the State of the Question, or palpable errour in them that maintain, that it is unlawfull to fight for Religion. It is one thing to fight to make others Religious, and another thing to fight to preserve our own Religion, and to preserve the means of Religion, to Us, and the Nation, and our Posterity, *Ibid.* Persecutors will take away our Lives or Liberties, if we worship God according to his Will, and use the necessary means of Salvation. In fighting against this Persecution, we fight principally, and ultimately, for our Own, and Posterities Salvation, and *next*, for the Necessary means thereto, and *Proximately* for our Lives and Liberties. *Ibid.*

In case of Persecution we fight for our own, and our posterities salvation.

Mo. The Rancour, and Inhumanity of This Scandal makes me take the Lesse notice of your shifts and contradictions; so that I shall wave the Course of your Reasoning, and speak a Word to your Conscience.

The late Kings sufferings forgotten among greater grievances.

Pray'e cast a back Thought upon the Piety, the Moderation, the Unexampled sufferings and Constancy of That Incomparable Prince, whose Government, and Administration is here so Diabolically Traduc'd. It is a wonderful thing to me, that the Legal Justice that was executed upon two or three

Contu-

Contumacious Schismatiques, should be so fresh in your Memory, and yet the Tragedy of that Royal, and Protestant Martyr that fell a Sacrifice to the Idol of your Enthusiastical Reformation should be so utterly forgotten. How can you so call to mind the silencing of a Stubborn Cabal of Lawlesse Mutineers; And the Blond of *Canterbury*, your Sacrilegious Robbing, and Taking Possession, not fly in the Faces of your Complices? Especially considering how much you your selves have contributed to the Common Fate.

Pryn, Burton, and Bastwick lamented, but not a word of the Royall Martyr.

Ri. [*How far the Parliament was from being* Presbyterians, *may be seen in the Propositions sent from them by the* Earl of Essex, *to the King at* Nottingham, *and partly their defeating all the desires and endeavours of Those that would have* Presbytery *setled thorow the Land. We know of no places, but* London *and* Lancashire, *where it was commonly taken up, and some little of it at* Coventry, *and some few such places,* Non-Conf. Plea, 1st part, p. 128.

Presbytery not setled, says *Richard.*

Ba. [Is it not known that the Presbyterian Government hath been exercised in *London*, in *Lancashire*, and in *many Counties* these *many years*? 5. *Disp.* Pref. 28. 29. [Look into this County where I live, and you shall finde a faithfull, humble, laborious Ministry, Associated, and walking in as great Unity as ever I read of since the Apostles Days: No Difference, no Quarrels, but sweet and amicable Correspondency, and Communion, that I hear of. Was there such a Ministry, or such Love and Concord, or such a Godly People under them in the Prelates Reign? There was not: Where we had Ten drunken Readers Then, we have not One now; and where we had One Able, Godly Preacher Then, we have many Now: and This is our Loss and misery in these times, which you so much lament. *Ibid.*

Baxter contradicts him,

And comforts himself with comparing the days of *Richard* Protector with *Charles* I.

Ten schismatical Hypocrites Now, for One formerly.

Mo. This last passage I finde in a Preface Entitled [*To those of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of This Land that adhere to* Prelacy: *Published in the year* 1659. and usher'd in, by an *Epistle Dedicatory*, [*To his Highnesse* Richard *Lord* Protector *of the* Common-Wealth *of* England,

Baxters compliement to the Sons of the Church. 1659

England, Scotland, *and* Ireland: with this expreſſion in the laſt Page. [Your zeal for God will kindle in your SUBJECTS a zeal for You: *and for a Farewell*, [A Faithfull Subject to your Highneſſe, as you are an Officer of the Univerſal King,

Richard Cromwells faithfull Subjects.

Richard Baxter.

It is worthy of a Note Mr. *Baxter*, that your Pen cuts more ſtill in 1659. then it did in ſeven years before, and that your Humour runs much, (about That ſeaſon) upon Caſuiſtical Points, and the Collation of Affairs, and Times. Now all the Reaſon I can diſcern for your change of *Topique* ſtill upon That *Criſis*, is This. The Wheel was almoſt come round again, and Rebellion upon the very point of finiſhing its Courſe. For they had run the *Monarchy* down, ino an *Ariſtocracy*; *That*, into a *Democracy*; *Cromwell* took up the Government next, in a *Single Perſon*. But all theſe Succeſſive Uſurpations were ſo Grievous, and Inſupportable to the people, that neceſſarily the next Remove muſt be the Reſtoring of the *King*, to *perfect* the *Revolution*. Now ſo ſoon as ever you diſcover'd the dawning but of the leaſt hope for his Majeſties Reſtauration, what Miſts did you preſently caſt before the Peoples Eyes in your *Political Aphoriſmes*, upon the Queſtion of *Authority*, and *Obedience*? What pains did you take to poſſeſſe the Nation with an Opinion of the bleſſed differences betwixt the State of Matters under *Richard* the *Uſurper*, and *Charles* the *Martyr*? and to hammer into the heads of the Multitude, the danger of *Re-admitting* their *Lawfull Sovereign*? Pray'e tell me Sir, was Mr. *Dance's Sequeſtred Living*, and your Little *Worceſterſhire Aſſociation* ſo Ineſtimable a Prize, that you could part with the *Bloud* of a moſt

Mr. *Baxters* Political Aphoriſmes compoſed expreſly to keep out the King.

Religious

Religious Prince; the *Lives* of at leaſt *Fourſcore* Thouſand *Chriſtians*; the *Order* of the *Government*, both in *Church* and *State*; your *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Eſtates*; the *Peace*, *Honour*, and *Well being* of *Three Kingdoms*, and all This, in Exchange for *Infamy*, *Beggery*, and *Bondage*, and yet reckon your ſelf a Gainer by the Bargain?

Ri. *The Common-wealths-men perſecuted me and Others, ſo far as to make Orders to Sequeſter us, for not taking the* Engagement; *and for not keeping their* Faſts *and* Thanſgivings *for the* Wars *againſt* Scotland. R. Bs. 2d Admonition to Bagſhaw. p. 90.

Poor Richard like to have ſequeſtred for not faſting and praying againſt the *Scots*.

Ba. [Its a dreadfull Obſervation to ſee ſo much of the Spirit of *malignity* poſſeſſing thoſe that once ſaid they fought againſt *Malignants*; and that the Miniſters and Servants of the Lord, are rayled at by many of *Them*, as formerly they were by the worſt of Thoſe that *Their hands* deſtroyed; and with this dreadfull Aggravation, that *Then* it was but *Some* that were Reviled, and now, with *many*, it is *All*. *Then*, it was but under the Name of *Puritans*, and *Round-heads*; and *Now* it is openly, as *Miniſters*, under the Name of *Prieſts*, and *Black-Coats*, and *Presbyters* and *Pulpiteers*. *Self-denial*, *Ep. Monitory*.

The ſpirit of Malignity has taken poſſeſſion of the Army.

The Presbyterians Perſecuted,

Mo. This is to Intimate that the *Presbyterians* were under a *Perſecution*. Who were the *Perſecutors*, I beſeech ye? Even *Your own Fourney-men*; who when they had wrought Sedition long enough under you, took the Trade into their Own hands, and ſet up for Themſelves. And that you may not value your ſelves upon the Merits of your ſufferings; Pray'e what was it that you ſuffer'd for? *Presbytery* is too *Tyrannical* for the ſpirit of an *Independent* to bear. The Stomack of That Party would not brook it, and ſo they caſt it up again: For there is, though a *Licentious*, yet ſomewhat of a *Practical*, and *Accomodable Generoſity* in that Party. But are not you aware, Gentlemen, that the

The Presbyterians Journeymen (the Army) ſet up for themſelves.

Somewhat of an accomodable Generoſity in the Independents.

worse you speak of these people, the greater is your Condemnation; for making the *Episcopal Party* still, more *Insupportable* then *These*, at the very *Worst*?

The poor Presbyterians persecuted by the Army, for not joyning against the *Scots*.

Ri. [*Was it no* Persecution, *when many* Anabaptists *and* Separatists *made such work in* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *in* Cromwels *time, and after, as they did? when so many were turn'd out of the* Universities *for not Engaging, and so many out of the* Magistracy, *and* Corporation-Priviledges? *And when an Ordinance was made to cast out all Ministers who would not pray for the success of their Wars against* Scotland, *or that would not give God thanks for their Victories. When I have heard them profess, that there were many Thousand Godlymen, that were kill'd at* Dunbar (*to instance in no other*) *and yet* WE *were all by their* Ordinance *to be cast out, that would not give God thanks for This.* Ch. Div. Pa. 256. 1668. *What more harsh kinde of Persecution could there be then to force men to go Hypocritically to God against their Consciences, and take on them to beg for the Success of a War which they Judg'd Unlawfull, and to return him a Publick Counterfeit Thanks for Bloodshed; yea, for the bloud of Thousands? &c.* Ibid.

Oh the persecution of forcing men against their Consciences.

But so long as they do not suffer as evil-doers.

Ba. Only See to This Brethren, that none of you suffer as an evill-doer; as a busy-Body in other mens Matters; as a Resister of the Commands of Lawfull Authority; as Ungratefull to Those that have been Instruments of our Good; as evill-Speakers against Dignities; as Opposers of the Discipline, and Ordinances of Christ; as Scornfull Revilers of your Christian Brethren; as Reproachers of a Laborious, Judicious, Conscientious Ministry, *&c. Saints Rest. Pa.* 131.

No persecution to oppresse the Church and all that love it

Mo. You do not speak I suppose of the *Seven* or *Eight and Twenty Cathedralls* that were *Defaced*; The 115. *Ministers* forced out of their Livings within the Bills of Mortality; nor of the History of *Querela Cantabrigiensis*. You accounted it no *Persecution* the forcing of men to Pray for the Successe of a *Rebellion* against their *Sovereign*; and to give God thanks for the Victories over the King, and the Loyal Assertors of his Majesties, and the Churches Rights and Government. As

As for you, Mr. *Baxter*, your Counsell is very good, if it were not that in the *Dignities*, and *Lawfull Powers* you have plac'd the *Crown* upon the *wrong head*: and directed an Obedience to the *Faction*, in stead of the *King*: after your usual Method of *Crushing* the *One*, to *Advance* the *Other*. But it will be a hard matter I believe to convince you that the *Presbyterians* destroy'd the King, and that they did it *as* Presbyterians too, though I reckon it to be very easily Provable both from their Practises, and *Positions*. And This I should not at This time have made the Question, but that you your self Mr. *Baxter*, have been pleased to bring it upon the Carpet.

M. *Baxter* places the Crown upon the wrong Head.

The King destroy'd by Presbyterians, as Presbyterians.

Ba. [The Generality of the *Orthodox*, *Sober Ministers*, and Godly people of This Nation, did never consent to *King-Killing*, and Resisting *Sovereign Power*, nor to the Change of the *Antient Government* of this Land. But they have been True to their Allegeance, and Detesters of Unfaithfullness and Ambition in Subjects; and Resisters of Heresy and Schisme in the Church, and of Anarchy, and Democraticall Confusions in the Commonwealth. *R B. Sermon before the Commons, Ano.* 30, 1660. *Pa.* 44.

The Loyalty of *Baxters* Orthodox sober Ministers.

Ri. *It is most certain Brother, that we did never directly consent,* (*as you say*) *But Unhappily there hath been a difference among us* which is the higher Power, *when Those that have their Share in the Sovereignty, are divided: But whether we should be Subject to the higher Power, is no question with us.* Ibid. 45.

Richard subject to the HigherPower, but not Resolv'd which it is.

Mo. If by your *Orthodox*, *Sober Ministers* you *mean* the *Episcopal Divines*, your Assertion holds good, or in a *Literall Construction* either; but if you intend the *Non-Conformists*, under these Two *Epithets* of *Orthodox*, and *Sober*; What do ye think of Mr. *Manton*, *Calamy*, *Case*, *Douglas*, *Burton*, *Herle*, *Goodwin*, *Woodcock*, *Brooks*, *Bridges*, *Marshall*, *Cockayn*, *Faircloth*,

An Even score of Orthodox sober Divines.

cloth, Saltmarsh, Sterry, Strickland, Newcomen? And for Brevity sake, *J.O. W.J.* and *R.B.* shall make them up an even score. I could shew ye how these Reverend Authors have trac'd the *King-killing Cause*, from the very *Egg* to the *Apple*; (as they say) Preach'd the *Lawfullnesse* of the *War*; the *People* into a *Rebellion*; the *Kings Head* to the *Block*; and then Justify'd all when they had done. And yet who but these men of Bloud, to Quarrell with the Government, because they cannot get themselves Privileg'd above the *Peaceable* and *Obedient Sons* of the Church?

The last Kings b'oud not valu'd at a Ceremony.

What do ye think of the Author of *CELEUSMA*; that told the Commons in a Sermon *Sept.* 25. 1656. [That the Removal of Prelatical Innovations Countervaild for the Bloud and Treasure shed and spent in the late Distractions?] Is not this person now with his *Clamor ad Cælum*, a very *hopefull Solicitor* for a *Second Reformation*? He that has Solemnly declared, that **[If the Re-Imposing of Ceremonies could have brought the Late King to Life again, he would never have yielded to it.]** At That Rate of Computation, why shall not a *Ceremony* at this day, out-weigh the Life of the *Son*, as Formerly it did That of the *Father*? But what needs more proof then the very Order of *Aug.* 10. 1643. *For the* Assembly-Divines to *stir up the People to rise for their Defence*?

There is another person also who is engaged in This present Controversy, to whom I would gladly Recommend a due Consideration of this following Extract.

[When

[When Kings Command Unrighteous things, and people suite them with willing Complyance, none doubts but the destruction of them both, is Just and Righteous] *A Fast Sermon to the House of Commons. Jan.* 31. 1648. *Pa.* 5. The Kings Murther justify'd the day after it was committed.

He that is Entrusted with the Sword, and dares not do Justice, on every one that dares do Injustice, is affraid of the Creature, but makes very bold with the Creator. *Pa.* 15. A Provocation to Bloud.

[The *Kings* of the Earth have given their Power to *Anti Christ*. How have they *earn'd* their *Titles*? *Eldest Son of the Church*, The *Catholique*, and *most Christian King*; *Defender of the Faith*; and the Like. Hath it not been by the Bloud of Saints? Is there not in every corner of These Kingdomes, the Slain and the Banish'd ones of Christ to Answer for? *A Fast Sermon of Apr.* 19. 1649. *Pa.* 22. Do not the *Kings of all these Nations* stand up in the Room of their *Progenitors*; with the same *Implacable Enmity* to the *Power* of the *Gospel*? Pa. 22. All Christian Kings Anti-Christianiz'd.

[There are Great and Mighty Works in hand, in this Nation. Tyrants are punish'd; the Jaws of Oppressors are broken; bloudy Revengefull people in Wars, disappointed. *A Thanksgiving Sermon for the Scots defeat at* Worcester, *Octob.* 24. 1651. *P.* 2. A Reflection upon his Majesty after his Defeat at *Worcester*.

[What is This Prelacy? A meer Antichristian Encroachment upon the Inheritance of Christ, *Pa.* 5. Prelacy Anti-Christian.

[A Monarchy of some hundred years continuance, allways affecting, and at length wholly degenerated into Tyrany; destroy'd, pull'd down, Swallow'd up. A great mighty Potentate that had caused terrour in the Land of the Living, and layd his Sword under his head, brought to Punishment for Blood, P. 6. A Pedant triumphing over *Charles* the II. and Monarchy it self.

[If

And calling the King Tyrant.

[If any persons in the World had cause to sing the Song of *Moses*, and the *Lamb*, *We* have this day. The *Bondage* prepared for *us* was both in *Spirituals*, and *Temporals*, about a *Tyrant* full of *Revenge*; and a *Discipline* full of *Persecution*, hath been our Contest: whether the Yoke of the One and the Other, should by the Sword and Violence, be put upon our Necks, and Consciences, is our Controversy, *Pa.* 7.

Are These Fit Agents for Unity & Peace?

Is it not a Prodigious boldness for such Spirits as These, to obtrude themselves, either upon the Government, or the People, as men of *Scruple*, and the most competent Agents for the Promoting of *Unity*, and *Peace*? And you your self Mr. *Baxter*, have not been out neither at this great work of Reforming Confusion, as your own Confessions in some measure, but your Conversation and Writings do Abundantly bear Witness.

Richard True to the King, but he mistook the King.

Mr. *Richard* here I must confess, furnishes you with a *Salvo* that *Ignatius Loyola* himself would have blush'd at. You were ever *True* to the *King*, you say, but you did not know *Who* was *King*. Some would have him to *be* where he was *NOT*, & Others would *not* allow him to be where he *WAS*. Sir, This doctrine might have done well enough in a Pulpit at *Coventry*, when you were *helping the Lord against the Mighty*; but from such a *Restauration-Sermon*, *the Lord deliver us*! There is *first* not one word of *Restoring* the *King* in't, though it was a *Fast* that had a *Particular Regard* to *That Debate*. 2. It Asserts the *Loyalty* of the *Presbyterians*, and yet at the same time, supposes the *Supreme Power* in the *Two Houses*, which, in few words, makes the *Late King* both a *Subject*, and (with Reverence) a *Rebell*. 3. The Setling of the Presbytery, (for that's allways the English of their *SOUND DOCTRINE*

Baxters Restauration-Sermon. Asserts the Presbyterian Loyalty. Makes the King a Subject, and worse. Pleads for Presbytery, without a word of restoring the King.

CTRINE, and *CHURCH-GOVERNMENT*, Pa. 46.) is violently preſt as the firſt thing to be done. Give *FIRST* to God, the Things that are Gods. 43. with a Phariſaical Oſtentation of the *Conſcionable, Prudent, Godly*, People of the Land, Pa. 46. in oppoſition to the *Prophane*. You could not do any thing in the world more, to obſtruct his Majeſtys Return, and yet you are pleaſed to make this Sermon an Inſtance of your Zeal to advance it.

Ri. [*The Parliament did not raiſe War againſt the* Perſon or Authority of the King, *nor did I ever ſerve them on any ſuch Account: but to defend themſelves againſt the Kings* Miſguided will. Holy Common-Wealth, Pa. 476. *Their Commiſſions, (all that ever I ſaw) were for* King and Parliament. *We had* Two Proteſtations, *and a* Solemn League *and* Covenant *Impos'd upon the Nation, to be for King and Parliament. And if Declarations, Profeſſions, Commiſſions, and National Oaths and Covenants will not tell us, what the cauſe of the War was, then there is no Diſcovery.* Ibid. Pa. 477.

The War rais'd for King and Parliament.

Their Oaths and Covenants were falſe and looſe at pleaſure.

Mo. Theſe *Commiſſions*, *Oathes* and *Covenants* tell you the *Pretext* of the War, but you muſt go to their *Proceedings*, and *Practices* to find the *Cauſe* of it. The Two Houſes Seize the Kings Towns, Magazins, Forts, and Shipping. They violently take the *Militia* into their own hands; Vote an Ordinance of Both Houſes as binding as an Act of Parliament. Declare his Majeſtys Commiſſions Voyd, Iſſue out Orders for Securing the Kingdome: Vote the Maintaining of a War, and the Seizing of his Majeſtys Magazins; Sequeſter the Church and Crown-Revenues: and juſtifie all theſe Injuries, as done in purſuance of their *Proteſtations*, and *Covenants*, and This is your way now of being *FOR* the King. Suppoſe that any man had beaten you, and Plundred ye, and Impriſon'd ye, and abus'd your Friends for your ſake, and a body ſhould tell

The Pretext of the War, *Religion*; the Cauſe, *Ambition*.

The Loyal Presbyterians uſurp Sovereign Power.

tell you all this while that this man was *FOR* Mr. *Baxter*. If you were *really* for the *King*; why would not *For the King* according to the *Oath* of *Allegeance* do the buſineſs as well as *For the King* according to the *Covenant*? Or how came you to *Alienate* your ſelf from his *Majeſties Juriſdiction*, & to turn *Subject*, to the *Two Houſes*? Who *Abſolv'd* you from the *One Oath*, or who *Authoris'd* you in the *Other*? Or when you found that the *King* in the *Covenant* clash'd with the *King* in the *Oath* of *Allegeance*, why did you not rather comply with the *Law*, then with the *Uſurpation*? For it is *Impoſſible* to be *True* to *both Intereſts*, under ſo manifeſt an *Oppoſition*. You ſee the *Colour* of the War, and I ſhall not need to tell you that the Cauſe of it was *Ambition*, of *Dominion*, which was exerciſed to the the higheſt degree of *Tyranny*.

The Two Houſes were the King in the Covenant.

No Reconciling of the Covenant-King & the Legal.

Richard holds Oaths to Princes to be Diſpenſable.

Ri. *If a People that by Oath and Duty are obliged to a Sovereign, ſhall ſinfully diſpoſſeſs him, and contrary to their Covenants, chuſe and Covenant with Another; they may be obliged by their Latter Covenants, notwithſtanding the Former.* Holy Common-Wealth. Pag. 188.

Baxter holds Oath of Allegiance to be Indiſpenſable.

Ba. That cannot be, my Friend; for we hold it [Impious and Papal to pretend to abſolve Subjects from their Oaths to their Sovereign. *Holy Com. Pa.* 359. [It is not in Subjects power, by Vows to withdraw themſelves from Obedience to Authority. *Non-Confor. Plea. P.* 213.

Mo. But why can ye not now diſpenſe with your Covenants, as well as you did formerly with the Oath of Allegeance?

Richard will have the Covenant binding as it is a Vow.

Ri. *Part of This Covenant is* [againſt Popery, Superſtition, *and* Profaneneſs; *and all that is againſt Sound Doctrine and Godlineſs*, &c. *which the Non-Conformiſts take to be Lawfull and Neceſſary things.* Non-Conf. Plea. 1ſt. part. P. 142. *But the Controverſy*

troversy is not This, *and* That, *but whether as* a Vow made to God, *it binde to things Necessary.* P. 143.

Ba. Soft a little. This that you Speak of is the *League* and *Covenant*, not the *Vow*, and *Covenant*. The *Latter* was only a *Bond* of *Confederacy* to assist the *Parliaments Forces* against the *King*; and taken by the Lords and Commons *Jun.* 6. 1643. and then Orderd *Jun.* 27. to be taken all over the Kingdome. But the *Other* was Composed afterwards and upon closing with the *Scots* accommodated to the *Scottish Model*, and Order'd, *Feb.* 2. 1643. to be taken throughout *England* and *Wales*, and Entitled, For *Reformation*, and *Defence of Religion*; *the Honour and Happiness of the KING*, &c. [By this Covenant, you are bound, not only to an *Extirpation* of *Bishops*, but to endeavour the Introducing of a *Scottish Presbytery*: How can you then dispence with an Admittance of the *Primates Episcopacy*, as you propounded, in Contradiction to the Terms of that Engagement?

The League and Covenant, and Vow and Covenant.

The League and Covenant Impos'd.

Baxter is his own Confessor and absolves himself.

Mo. Favour me with a word I Pray'e. Did ye not Covenant [*to preserve and defend the Kings Majestys Person, and Authority?*]

Ri. *Yes*, [in the Preservation and Defence of the True Religion.

The Covenant for the King, qualify'd for Religion.

Ba. But in case of the Kings Opposing it, we are still Obliged [*to continue therein, against all Opposition, and to promote the same, according to our Power, against all Lets, and Impediments whatsoever.* See the *Covenant*.

If the King be against Religion, the Covenant is against him.

Mo. Let it suffice Gentlemen that your Party destroy'd the King; it is no great matter *How*.

Ri. [*As to the Death of the King, I have in the times of Usurpation, proved that the Presbyterians detested it. That it was a Proud Conquering Army, by the Contrivance of* Ol. Cromwell, *and the applause of a* Few Phanatiques *that did it by the consent of a* small part of *the Old* Parliament, *called the* Rump, *that durst not trust the King in Power.* Non-Conf. Plea. part. 2. Preface.

Richard lays the Death of the King to *Oliver*.

The *Baxterians* attack'd the King.

Ba. Prethee *Dick* Speak truth and ſhame the Devill. what did we rayſe Armyes for? And Attaque the King himſelf in the Head of his Troops? Wee'l maintain *That*, by our *Principles*, and *Aphoriſmes*. [War is not an Act of *Government*, but *Hoſtility*. Men are not in Reaſon to be ſuppoſed to Intend their Enemies Good, if they *fight* we are to believe, they would *Kill*: and Nature believeth not *Killing* to be an Act of *Friendſhip*. *Holy Common-Wealth. Pa.* 422.

And they fought to Kill.

Baxters Unfeigned Repentance.

I do Unfeignedly Repent that I did no more for Peace in my Place then I did; and that I did not pray more heartily againſt Contention, and War, before it came; and ſpake no more againſt it then I did; and that I ſpake ſo much to blow the Coals. For This I dayly beg forgiveneſſe of the Lord, through the Pretious bloud of the Great Reconciler. The hatred of ſtrife, and War, and Love of Peace, and Obſervation of the Lamentable Miſcariages ſince, have call'd me often to ſearch my heart, and try my ways by the word of God; whether I did Lawfully engage in That War, or not: (which I was confident then, was the Greateſt outward ſervice that ever I performed to God. And whether I Lawfully encouraged ſo many Thouſands to it. *Holy Common wealth. Pa.* 485. 486.

Mr. *Baxter* conſulted the Word of God about Oppoſing the King.

Mr. *Baxter* would be the ſame man if another King were to be Depos'd and Murthered.

Mr. *Baxter* very cautious of Treaſon againſt the Two Houſes.

Baxter falls foul upon *Richard*.

[But yet I cannot ſee that I was miſtaken in the main Cauſe, nor dare I repent of it, not forbear the ſame, if it were to do again, in the ſame State of Things. I ſhould do all I could to prevent ſuch a War, but if it could not be prevented, I muſt take the ſame ſide as then I did. And my Judgment tells me, that if I ſhould do otherwiſe, I ſhould be Guilty of Treaſon or diſloyalty againſt the SOVEREIGN POWER of the Land, and of Perfidiouſneſſe to the Common-Wealth, and of preferring Offending Subjects, before the Laws, and Juſtice; and the Will of the King above the ſafety of the Common-wealth, and conſequently above his own Welfare. *Ibid.* And then for you ſo *Impudently* and *Impertinently*——

The Moderator interpoſes.

Mo. Nay, let's have none of this, Gentlemen I beſeech ye, why You Two are Old Acquaintances; Fellow-Labourers, Fellow-Sufferers, and One Womans Children as we ſay.——

Baxter vindicates *Oliver*.

Ba. I ſhall not eat my words I aſſure ye; I may forget my ſelf perhaps, but I am not a man for Recantations. I ſay again, that it was *Impudently* and *Impertinently* done to reflect upon *Oliver*

Oliver Cromwell, as if he had done an Ill thing. My *Holy Commonwealth* [was written while the *Lord Protector* (Prudently, Piously, Faithfully, to his Immortal Horrour, how ill soever you have used him) did exercise the Government. *Holy Common wealth, Preface to the Army.* [And I have *forborn to change any One* Word of it all, that you may see the worst of my Intendments, And that *True Principles will stand in all Times, and Changes*, though to the shame of those Changes that make bad Times. *Ibid.* These are my own words, and do you think that I would ever have bestowed upon a detestable wretch, the Epithetes of PRUDENT, PIOUS and FAITHFUL? And again; If *Oliver* had not been a Religious, and Gratious Prince, can you Imagine that I should ever have treated his Son *Richard* with this Complement? [We pray that you may INHERIT a Tender care of the Cause of Christ. *Key for Catholiques Ep. Ded.* which shews both that *Oliver* had a *Tenderness* for *Christs Cause*; and necessarily Implys that the *Cause* he *Managed* was the *Cause* of *Christ*.

A Prudent, Pious, Faithful Prince,

Baxter prays that *Richard Cromwell* may Inherit the Piety of his Father.

And then you shuffle it again upon the *Phanatiques*, and the *Rump*, that durst not trust the King with Power. Why prethee what Power did we allow him? We took away his Arms and his Men, and his Money, and his Credit, and his Towns, and his Ships, and his Laws, and his Liberty, and all the Ensignes of Royalty: and the Maxims whereupon we supported our Proceedings, did his business. The Two Houses and the Army were no more then the Gun and the Ball; The one gave fire and the other kill'd him.

The Presbyterians Disarm'd the King, and the Independents Kill'd him.

Mo. Mr. *Baxter*; If (as you say) you do *Unfeignedly Repent, that you spake so much* Formerly *to blow the Coals*. Why are ye blowing of them again? You carry'd Thousands you say, into the War, and Engaged in it your self, and would do the same thing over again upon the like Occasion: And your Judgment tells you that it were *Treason against the Sovereign Power of the Land* to do Otherwise. According to This doctrine, a Remnant of The Lords and Commons may do as much to This King as they did to his Father, and the Presbyterians Pulpits shall justify the Proceeding. You do Generously however to own your Positions. But yet methinks you should have some regard to the dismal Consequences that have ensu'd upon this Controversy.

Baxter repents, and then repents of his Repentance.

Baxter thanks God for his Bleſſings upon this Nation in conſequence of the Rebellion.

Ba. [It were too great Folly, by *Following Accidents*, that were then unknown, for me to Judge of the *Former Cauſe*. That which is Calamitous in the Event, is not allways ſinfull in the Enterprize. Should the Change of Times make me forget the State that we were formerly in, and Change my Judgment, by loſing the ſenſe of what then conduced to it's Enformation, This *Folly* and *forgetfullneſſe* would be the way to a *ſinfull*, and not an *Obedient Repentance*. Nor can I be ſo Unthankful as to ſay, for all the ſins and Miſcarriages of Men ſince, that we have not received much mercy from the Lord : *Holy Commonwealth. Pa.* 487.

The Bleſſed Difference betwixt the Government of the Late King, & of *Cromwell*.

When Godlyneſſe was the Common Scorn, the Prejudice, and ſhame moſt lamentably prevail'd to keep men from it, and ſo encouraged them in Wickedneſs : But through the great mercy of God, many Thouſands have been converted to a Holy, Upright Life, proportionably more then were before, ſince the Reproach did ceaſe, and the Prejudice was removed, and Faithfull Preachers took the Place of Scandalous ones, or Ignorant Readers. When I look upon the Place where I live, and ſee that the Families of the Ungodly are here one, and there one in a ſtreet, as the Families of the Godly were heretofore (though my own Endeavours have been too weak and cold) it forceth me to ſet up the ſtone of Remembrance, and to ſay [HITHERTO HATH THE LORD HELPED US. *Ibid.* [Oh the ſad, and Heart-piercing Spectacles that mine Eyes have ſeen in four years ſpace. [*This was* Jan. 15. 1649.] [In this Fight, a dear Friend falls down by me : From another, a Pretious Chriſtian brought home wounded, or dead : Scarce a month, ſcarce a week, without the ſight or Noiſe of Bloud. *Saints Reſt*, *P.* 139.

Baxters Comfortable Effects of a Civill War.

Mo. Here's firſt a moſt Evangelicall accompt of the bleſſed Effects of a Civill War : [*The Propagation of Godlyneſſe*. And Then, a moſt Remarkable Calculation of the date of your Calamities, which commences preciſely from the Armies getting the Aſcendent of the Two Houſes, without any reſpect to the Outrages both upon the Church and State, while the Preſbyterians Govern'd.

The Bleſſed Times we had till the Army got the better of the Two Houſes.

Ri. *Pray'e will ye* [*patiently read over the Repreſentation, or Letter of the* London Miniſters *to the Lord Generall*, Jan. 18. 1648.

Mo. Very

Mo. Very well, and since you are pleas'd to cast the Cause, and the Integrity of your Party upon That Issue, wee'l see what they say.

['It is allready sufficiently known (besides all former Miscar-'riages) what Attempts of late have been put in Practice against *Lawfull Authority: Letter. P.* 3. ['This Lawfull Authority *was a* '*Faction of the* Two Houses] Especially by the Late Remon-'strance, and Declaration, published in Opposition to the Pro-'ceedings in Parliament. [*Here's the* Crimen *læsæ Majestatis.*] '[As also by seizing, and Imprisoning the Kings Person with-'out the *Knowledge*, and *Consent* of Parliament. *Ibid.*

London-Ministers Letter to the Lord-General. *Jan.* 18. 1648.

The Armies Crime was the opposing of the Parliament, and Imprisoning the King without *Leave.*

[Here's only a plain *Seizure of the Kings Person, without the* Parliaments Privity *or* Leave; *No Condemnation of the Thing it self, further then as it was done without his* Masters Consent. *Nor was the King more a Prisoner in the hands of the* Army, *then he had been at* Newcastle, *in the hands of the* Presbyterians.]

Only a *Seizure* of the Kings Person.

'*But now they come to* [That late *Unparall'd violence* offer'd to 'the Members of it; forcibly hindring above one hundred of 'them (if we mistake not the Number) from sitting in Parlia-'ment: Imprisoning many of their Persons; though many of 'them are known to us to be men of Eminent worth, and Inte-'grity; and who have given most Ample Testimony of their 'Real Affection to the good of the Kingdome. *Ibid.*

But an *Unparallel'd Violence* upon the Members of the House. Being men of Eminent Worth and Integrity.

Pray'e take notice, that it was upon the *Members*, an Unparallel'd violence; upon the *King*, no more then a *Simple Seizure*; and methinks they might have bestowed some kind Epithete upon his *Majesty*, as well as upon the *Eminent* and *Worthy* Members. But 'tis only the bare *King*; and That's All.

['And besides All This, [There is an Intent of Framing and 'contriving a New Model, as well of the Laws, and Govern-'ment of the Kingdom, as of the Constitution of a new kind of 'Representative. All which Practices we cannot but Judge, to 'be manifestly opposite to the *Lawfull Authority* of those Maje-'strates which God hath set over us; and to the Duty and Obe-'dience, which by the Laws of God and man, and by our mani-'fold Oaths, and Covenants, we stand obliged to render to 'them. *Ibid.*

A Factious Remnant, the Magistrates which God hath set over us.

Yon

The *London*-Ministers Mediation little lesse then Treason.

You are not aware, Mr. *Richard*, that to Justify the Doctrine of these Letters falls very little short of Justifying downright Treason; unless you can shew a Law that places the Supreme Power in the Two Houses.

Gods Ordinance violated when Magistracy is oppos'd.

The Divines fearful of opposing God, in an Ordinance of the Two Houses.

['The Fear of God therefore, (whose Ordinance is violated, 'when Magistracy is opposed) makes us affraid of medling with 'Those who without any Colour of Legal Authority, meerly 'upon the Presumption of strength, shall attempt such Changes 'as these are. And we cannot but be deeply Affected with 'Grief and Astonishment, to see that an Army raised by Autho-'rity of Parliament, for the Preservation of the Priviledges 'thereof, and of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, should con-'trary to their Trust, and many engagements, do That which 'tends to the Manifest subversion of them All. *P.* 4.

None of these scruples in the case of the King.

Pray'e where was the Fear of God, when the King was opposed? what Legal Authority had the Two Houses over his Majesty, more then the Army had over the Two Houses! Or by what Law did That Parliament raise That Army?

The Presbyterians True to the Faction from the beginning.

[We have not forgotten those Declared Grounds and Principles, upon which the Parliament first took up Arms: and upon which we were induced to joyn with them: (from which we have not *hiherto* declared, and we trust through Gods Grace, we NEVER SHALL.) *Pa.* 5.

The Standard of the Presbyterian Loyalty Why not as tender of a breach of Trust, according to Law, as against it?

We have here in few words, the Judgment, and the Resolution of the Presbyterian Divines, and the standard of their Loyalty, from the Lips of the very Oracle of the Party. I would fain know now which was the fouler breach of Trust, That of the two Houses toward his Majesty, to whom both by Law and Conscience they were obliged, (besides so many Gratious Concessions) or that of the Army, to the Two Houses! The one being like the Robbing of an Honest man, and the other, the Pillaging of That Thief: Over and above that the Army was Trayn'd up in the Trade of turning out their Masters.

There was no Intent to divest the King of his *Legal Right.*

['And moreover; although the PARLIAMENT thus took 'up Arms for the defence of their Persons & Priviledges, and the Preservation

'Preſervation of Religion, Laws, and Liberties; yet was it not 'their Intention, thereby to do violence to the Perſon of the 'King, or diveſt him of his Regal Authority, and what *of Right* 'belongeth to him. *Pa.* 7.

Do but ſhew me now any one Eſſential of Sovereignty which thoſe people left him, if they could take it away, and I will be anſwerable to forfeit my head for't. But ſtill it is but what [*of Right*] belongeth to him; and That's a *Salvo* for all the Violences Imaginable.

But he had a Right to nothing then, for they took all away.

['We diſclaim, deteſt, and abhor the Wicked, and bloudy 'Tenents, and Practices of *Jeſuits* (the worſt of Papiſts) Con-'cerning the oppoſing of Magiſtrates, by Private perſons, and 'the Murthering of Kings by any, though under the moſt ſpeci-'ous, and Colourable Pretenſes. *Pa.* 11.

The Presbyterians tell us they are no Jeſuits.

This is All, which upon that deſperate *Criſis* of *State* was ſaid for that Pious and unfortunate Prince: the ſaving of the King, being (if any) Incomparably the leaſt part of the Miniſters buſineſſe. Beſide that the dethroning of him was more Criminal then the beheading of him. And in ſuch a caſe, it would have been no longer a Murther, when they ſhould once have voted the Fact to be an Execution of Juſtice.

Not one word for the King in the whole Letter.

['We deſire (*Say they*) that you would not be too Confident 'on former ſucceſſes. If God have made you proſper while 'you were in his way, this can be no Warrant for you to walk 'in ways of your Own. P. 12. [*So that the Old Cauſe is Gods ſtill, to this very day.*]

The Army in Gods way while they joyn'd with the Presbyterians.

'And beſides; [you have engaged your ſelves by an Oath to preſerve his Majeſtys Perſon, and the Priviledges of Parliament; and This is moſt clear, that no Neceſſity can juſtify Perjury, or diſpenſe with Lawfull Oaths. Pa. 15.

Sworn to preſerve his Majeſties *Perſon*, and *Priviledges* of *Parliament*.

I ſhould be glad to know now, how you came to be abſolv'd of the Oath of Allegiance, or how you can honeſtly pretend to Stand up for any Intereſt, that renders the King Accountable to his Subjects.

Who abſolv'd the Presbyterians of their former Oaths?

Ba. [But yet if I had taken up Arms againſt the Parliament in

If *Baxter* had ſerv'd the King

If he had been a Traytor.

in That War, my Conscience tells me I had been a Traytor, and Guilty of Resisting the *Highest Powers*. *Holy Com. Pa.* 433.

Mo. At This Rate, the King was a Traytor on the other side.

Baxters Holy Com.wealth, to be taken as *Non-Scriptus*.

Ba. Why do yon cite the *Holy Common Wealth*, so often? for I have desired that the Book be taken as *non Scriptus*. *Non Con. Plea 2d part. Pref.*

A shift, not a Recantation.

Mo. And would not any Malefactour that were deprehended in the manner, say as much as this amounts to; and wish that the thing might be taken as *Non Factum*? This is rather a *Shift*, then a *Retractation*.

For the Aphorisms were Level'd directly against the King.

And then again; it is a wonderfull thing that you should overshoot your self so much upon a Subject that was expresly [*Suited to the demands, and doubts of These Times,*] *Holy Com. Pa.* 102. That is to say; The Restoring of the King was the point then in Agitation, and out comes your Book of *Aphorisms* expresly to possesse the People against it.

Baxters Recantation.

Ba. If you would have a Recantation more in Form, [I do here freely Professe that I repent of all that ever I thought, Sayd, Wrote, or did, since I was Born, against the Peace of Church or State, Against the King his Person, or Authority, as Supreme in himself; or as Derivative in any of his Officers, Magistrates, or any Commissioned by him. *Mi Admonition to Bagshaw. Pa.* 52.

A Repentance that will passe neither upon God, nor Man

Mo. This *Mock Repentance* is a Trick that will not pass either upon God or Man. The Kings Headsman might have Sayd as much, and yet account That execrable Office a meritorious work. You are at your *Fast-Sermon* again; Always *Obedient* to the *Highest Powers*, but divided somewhere about the *Receptacle* of the *Sovereignty*. You ask God Forgiveness for all that ever you *Thought*, *Sayd*, *Wrote*, or *Did*, against the *King* and the *Publique-Peace*. And what signifies This Repentance so long as you persist in maintaining, that all the violences acted upon the Person, Crown and Dignity of his Sacred Majesty in the Name of the King and Parliament, were not AGAINST the King, but FOR him. This is All, but the *Hypothesis* of a Transgression

Transgression. *Lord forgive me all that ever I did amiss.* That is to say, *if ever I did any thing amiss.* But I charge my self with no Particulars. Why do ye not Touch the *Thesis* that you condemn; and say *This, That,* and *tother Aphorisme* I *Renounce?* Nay, why do ye not Reform and Correct your mistakes, and state the matter aright, toward the bringing of These people into their Wits again, that have been Intoxicated by your false Doctrine, and Poyson'd from your very Pulpit?

Ba. [If you Quarrell with my Repentance as not In *Particulars enow*; I answer you, that as in the Revocation of the Book, I thought it best to *Revoke the whole,* (though not as *Retracting* all the Doctrine of it) because if I had named the Particular Passages, some would have said I had mentioned too *Few,* and some, to *many,* and few would have been satisfi'd. *Admon. to Bagshaw. Pag.* 53. *Baxters* Reasons why his Repentance is not Particular

Mo. You have Mark'd [*Revoke,*] and [*Retract*] with an Emphatical Character, to give to Understand, that you do not *Rettract*, though you do *Revoke*, and you have put them in *Italique*, to shew that there lies a stresse upon Those two Words. *You* Revoke *the whole* [Book] you say, *not as* Retracting *all the Doctrine of it*: If by *Revoke* you mean *Call in,* or *Suppress*, you might as well call back your Breath again, as the venome that was diffused by those Aphorisms. And then to say that you do not [*Retract All* the Doctrine of it] does not necessarily Imply, that you Retract any Part of it. Or if you do, your Repentance is yet Frivolous, for want of distinguishing the Right from the Wrong; that your Disciples may not take the One for the Other. Mr *Baxters Pia Fraus.* A Jesuitism.

Your Apprehension indeed of saying *too much,* or *too little* if you should come to *Particulars*, is very Reasonable: For to please the Lovers of their *Prince, Church,* and *Country,* you must not leave one Seditious, or Schismatical Principle behind ye. But then on the Other side, if you come to pronounce the Levying of Arms, the making of a Great Seal, and Exercising other Acts of Sovereignty, without, and against the Kings Commission, to be High Treason by the Established Law, you are lost to all Intents and Purposes, with your own Party. So that for fear of disobliging the One side or the Other, by Confessing For fear of too Much or too Little, Mr. *Baxter* confesses just nothing at all.

fessing too much, or too little, you have resolved upon the middle way of confessing just nothing at all.

Mr. *Baxter* proceeds in his repentance

Ba. [I do Repent (again) that I no more discouraged the spirit of peevish Quarrelling with Superiours, and Church-Orders; and (though I *ever disliked* and *opposed* it, yet) that I *sometimes* did *too much Encourage* such, as were of this Temper, by speaking too sharply against Those things which I thought to be *Church-Corruptions:* and was too loth to displease the Contentious, for fear of being Uncapable of doing them good, (knowing the Prophane to be much worse then They) and meeting with too few Religious persons, that were not too much pleased with such Invectives. *Ibid.*

He ever *opposed* what he sometimes *encouraged.* A Baxterism.

Mo. This Clause of Repentance, is every jot as much a Riddle to me as the Former. You did not sufficiently *discourage* the *spirit* of Quarrelling with *Superiours.* [Which *spirit* you your *self Raised.*] You were a little *too sharp* upon what you *thought* to be *Church-Corruptions,* [So that here's a Bit, and a Knock. You were a little *too sharp*; but it was against *Corruptions* in the *Church*; Your very *Repentances* are *Calumnies.* But you were willing to oblige a Contentious Religious Party that was pleased with Invectives, you could have done them no good else. And what good I beseech ye did you do them by it, but mislead, and confirm them in Principles of Disobedience? only you consider'd you say, that the *Prophane* were much *worse* then the *Other.*

B's very Repentances are Calumnies.

He Repents and Relapses in the same breath.

What is the reason that Mr. *Baxter* will be perpetually thus Inconsistent with himself? First you Repent for no more *Discouraging,* and then (by a side wind) for *Encouraging*; and before the Repentance is out of your Mouth, you are at it again, with your CHURCH-CORRUPTIONS, and your opposition of the PROPHANE forsooth to the *Godly,* to Enflame the Division, and to Harden the Non-Conformists in their Dissent.

Prophaneness in Habit, and in Conspiracy.

Now as to your Stigmatizing Character of *Prophane,* There is a *Personal Prophaneness,* and there is a Prophaneness of *Association,* and *Confederacy.* There are many men I know, that have gotten so diabolical a Habit of Swearing, Cursing, and Blaspheming the holy name of God, that they can hardly speak Ten words without an Oath, or a Curse: This is without dispute a most abominable Sin; But it is withall so Disagree-

able

able, and so offensive, that it gives a man a Horrour for the Imitation, and Practice, of so Unprofitable, and so Monstrous a Crime; and though it be a grievous *Wickedness*, it is not of so dangerous an Example, But what say you to Sacramental Leagues against Order, and Law? To the forcing of a whole Nation either to Swear or starve? To the calling God into a Conspiracy against Government and Religion? To the Robbing of Altars; demolishing of Temples; dethroning of Kings; degrading of Bishops? *&c.* And all This, *in the Name of the most High God*, and with *hands held up unto the Lord*. But go on with your Repentance.

A Covenanting Prophaneness worse then a Personal.

Ba. [I do Repent (also) that I had not more Impartially and diligently Consulted with the best Lawyers that were against the Parliaments Cause. (For I know of no Controversy in Divinity about it, but in Politiques and Law;) and that I did not use all possible means of full Acquaintance with the Case. *Ibid.*

He repents that he did not advise with Lawyers.

[And that for a little while the Authority of such Writers as Mr. *Richard Hooker*, *Lib.* I. *Eccles. Polit.* and *Bishop Bilson*, and other *Episcopal Divines* did too much sway my Judgment toward the Principles of *Popular Power*.

An Invidious Reflexion upon *Hooker*.

[And seeing the Parliament *Episcopal*, and *Erastian*; and not hearing when the War began, of Two Presbyterians amongst them all, nor among all their Lord Lieutenants, Generalls, Major Generalls, or Colonells, till long after; I was the Easilyer drawn to think, that *Hookers Political Principles* had been commonly Received by all; which I discerned soon after upon stricter Enquiry, to be Unsound, and have my self written a Confutation of them. *Pa.* 53.

Mo. This way of Dodging, in one of the Prophane (as you stile us) would have been *Jesuitical*. Here's only a bare wish that you had made a stricter Enquiry into the Cause, but no Acknowledgment that you were in the Wrong. And again, If you knew of no Controversy in Divinity about it; why are all your Writings stuff'd with such a Huddle of Texts for Obedience to the Two Houses? What did you *search the Word of God for*, in the Case? *Holy Com. Pa.* 486.

Jesuitical Dodging.

If you were misled by Mr. *Hookers First Book of Ecclesiastical Polity* in Favour of *Popular Power*; why would ye not let him set

Why could not *Hooker* set

him Right to the Church, as well as wrong to the *State*, *Hookers* popular power nothing to Co-ordination.

the Right in your *Eccleſiaſtical Politiques*, and in your Duty to the Authority, and Diſcipline of the Church, to make ye ſome amends? The Biaſſe which you will have him to take, in favour of Popular Power, being not one jott to your purpoſe, but regarding only the Specification of Government, and not the Fountain; and wholly Forrein to your Phanſy of a *Co-ordination*: Whereas That Great mans diſcourſe in vindication of the Rites and Injunctions of the Church comes directly to your Point: and ſtands as firm as a Rock againſt all the Inſults of Calumny, and Oppoſition; without any Pretenſe to a Reply. But you ſerve Mr. *Hooker* in *This*, and the *King himſelf*, and the *Engliſh Clergy* in *Other* Caſes, as you do the Biſhops in your *Church-Hiſtory*; you turn over *Indexes* and *Common-Places* for matter of Reproach againſt them, and then obtrude upon the World, the Frailties of ſome, and your own moſt Uncharitable miſtakes of Others, for the Hiſtory of the Order; but not one word of Their Virtues. (It would make a black book, the Story of the *Preſbytery* drawn up at the ſame Rate.) It is your way ſtill, under a Pretext of advancing the *Myſtical* Church, to depreſs the *Viſible*, and to put the people out of Love with both *Civill* and *Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions*.

Baxters Writings are a direct Satyr upon Government.

B's quarrell to the viſible Church.

Ba. [Pray'e do but obſerve and ſee of what manner of perſons the Viſible Church hath been Conſtituted, in all Ages of the World, till now. In the firſt Church, in *Adams* Family, a *Cain*, In a Church of Eight perſons, the Father and Paſtor overtaken with Groſſe Drunkenneſs, and one of his Sons was a Curſed *Cham*. In a Church of ſix perſons, Two of them periſh'd (in *Sodom*) in the flames, among the Unbelievers, and a Third turn'd into a Pillar of Salt: The Two remaining Daughters, committed Inceſt. In *Abrahams* Family, an *Iſhmael*; In *Iſaacs*, an *Eſau*: even *Rebecca*, and *Jacob* guilty of deceitfull Equivocation; an *Abraham* and *Iſaac* deny'd their Wives to ſave themſelves in their Unbelief. In *Jacobs* Family a *Simeon* and *Levi*, that ſold their brother *Joſeph*. Of the Church of the *Iſraelites* in the Wilderneſs but Two permitted to enter into the Land of Promiſe, *&c.* [The Ten Tribes were drawn by *Jeroboam* to Sin, by ſetting up Calves at *Dan* in *Bethel*, and making *Prieſts of the Vileſt of the People*; and forſaking the Temple, and the *True Worſhip of God* and the *Lawfull Prieſts*. And theſe *Lawfull Prieſts* at *Jeruſalem* were Ravening Wolves and Greedy Dogs,

Dogs, and careleſs, and cruell Shepherds. The falſe Prophets who deceived the People were moſt Accepted.] *Ch Div. Pa.* 35. 36. 37. And if you run throngh the Churches of *Rome*, *Corinth*, *Galatia*, *Coloſſe*, *Epheſus*, *Pergamus*, *Thyatira*, *Sardis*, *Laodicea*] *Pa.* 39. 40. 41. *you'le finde it to be the ſame caſe.*

Mo. But what's your end in all This?.

Ba. [Not to make Sin leſs Odious, nor the Church or Godly leſs Eſteemed: but to ſhew you the Frame of the *Viſible Church*, in all Generations, and how it differeth from the *Jewiſh*; leſt you ſhould take on you to be wiſer then God, and to build his houſe after a better Rule then his Goſpel and the Primitive Pattern. *Ibid. Pa.* 36. The Reaſons of Bs Unkindneſſe to the viſible Church.

Mo. This is by Interpretation, The *Non-Conformiſts* are the *Inviſible* Church; and the *Epiſcopall Clergy* are the *Raveuing Wolves*, and the *Greedy Dogs*, and all the Sons of the Church of *England*, are the *Church Viſible*, According to your moſt obliging way of Alluſion. But there's one thing I forgot. He makes Diſſenters the Inviſible Church and Conformiſts the Viſible.

You ſay, the *Presbyterians* did not begin the War; which with your Favour is a great miſtake, and yet not a pin matter to the caſe in Queſtion; whether they did or not. Did not the *Kirk* lead the Dance, and the *Republican Faction* in *England* pay them their wages, and call them their *Dear Brethren* for their pains? And then the *Presbyterian* war was denounc'd in the *Pulpit*, and in the *Parliament-houſe* too, long before the *Republican* broke out openly in the *Field*. What if the firſt Publick Sticklers, were not at that time *Declar'd Presbyterians?* They were yet in the *Conſpiracy* againſt *Biſhops*, though under another Notion; and quickly after they Liſted themſelves under That very Profeſſion, as the beſt cover in nature for their purpoſe; for That Schiſme was never without a State-faction in the Belly on't. But nothing is more Notorious, then the Intelligence that was held, from the Beginning, betwixt the *Republican Cabball*, and the *Presbyterian Divines*! The one drew the Bellowes, and the Other Play'd the Tune. And take notice likewiſe, That Presbyterian was a mark of the *Faction* rather then a note of the *Religion*, and uſed in *Contradiſtinction* to *Royalliſt*. But Pray'e finiſh your Repentance. Presbyterians began the War. A State Faction as well as a Schiſme.

Ba. For

B's Implicite Repentance.

Ba. For [All the reſt of my Sins in this buſineſſe, which I know not of Particularly, I do Implicitly and generally Repent of, and ask of God to give me a particular Converſion, *&c.*] *Ibid* 53.

B's account ſoon caſt up.

Mo. If you have told all the Particulars you know of, your Account, Mr. *Baxter*, is ſoon caſt up.

You begin with a *Generall Suppoſition. All that ever I Thought, Sayd*, &c. without any One *Inſtance*: or *Acknowledgement.* If you had ſayd, *I have committed many Sins of This kinde, and of That*, it had been ſomething.

Your Second Branch of Repentance, is for *no more diſcouraging Peeviſhneſſe* toward *Superiours*; and Then ſometimes *too much Encouraging* it by being too *Sharp* your ſelf againſt what you took to be *Church Corruptions*. Why Sorry for no MORE diſcouraging, when you were ſo far from diſcouraging *at all*, that on the Contrary, you Repent in the ſame Period, for *too much Encouraging*? This is, at the beſt, but a Lame and a *Generall Particular Repentance*. That which you make no more of then the Spirit of *Peeviſh* Quarrelling (as if the people had only piſt upon a Nettle) you ſhould have ſpoken out, and call'd it the Spirit of *Contumacy*, and *Rebellion*. And what is it that you charge upon your ſelf here, more then that you were a little too Mealy-mouth'd? But wher's your Vindication of the *Church-Orders* you mention? where's yonr Determination which are the *Right Superiours*. Why do ye not tell the People that you were miſtaken in the Opinion of our *Church-Corruptions*; and Inſtruct them in their Duties of *Obedience* to *God*, and the *King*? Without ſo doing, That which you call Repentance, is only a Snare to the Multitude, and a Scandal to the Government.

A General Particular Repentance.

Rebellion and Peeviſhneſſe.

B Repents of being toomealy-mouth'd.

Your next Pang of Repentance, is for not Conſulting the beſt Lawyers that were againſt the Parliament, more Inpartially and diligently then you did.

A Repentance without a Confeſſion.

Is This the Repentance, Mr. *Baxter*, of a *Confeſſor*? A *Repentance*, without a *Confeſſion*: an arrant peice of Artifice, and Deſign, to put on the Diſguiſe of a Recantation, and without any charge or diſcharge of Conſcience, to keep in with Both Parties. The Sin does not Ly in your not Adviſing with Lawyers concerning the State of the Controverſy; but in Plunging your ſelf and Others into Bloud, hand over head, contrary to the Laws of God and man, without ſo much as conſulting the grounds

grounds of the Quarrell. To the *Royallists* it looks like an excuse of your Disloyalty to the King; as who should say; *'Tis true, I was to blame: It was a Poynt of Law, and I should have taken better Advise upon't.* And if the Other Side accuse you as a deserter of the Cause, you can acquit your self There too, that you have not Repented of any one Poynt to their Prejudice. If it be not as I say, and that you mean Good Faith, do but publish your Loyalty to the World, in the manner, or to the effect Following, and I'le ask your Pardon. And an abuse upon Both Parties.

I Do Declare, that the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, are still the Kings Subjects, **and that it is not Lawfull for them to exercise any Act of** Sovereign Power, **Without or Against the** Kings Command, **or** Consent. **I do likewise declare that the War, Raised by the pretended Authority of the Lords and Commons in** 1642. **With all their Orders, Ordinances, and Impositions in pursuance thereof, were also unlawfull: And that All Acts of Hostility done by Them or their Order, against the King, or the Party Commissioned by him, during the Command of the Earl of** Essex, **Were Acts of disloyalty, and Rebellion.** Mr. *Baxter's* Test.

If you be really the man that you would be thought to be, you'le never Boggle at This Test: But if This will not down with ye, (let me tell you Sir that to my knowledge worse then this, has) you will make me think of the Lady in the Proverbs, that [*Eateth, and wipeth her Mouth, and saith, I have done no Wickednesse.*

Mr. Baxter's Challenge.

Ba. You Reflect in These Reproaches either upon my Particular Principles, or upon the Principles of the Party, or upon Both. As to my self; [If any man can prove, that I was Guilty of, hurt to the Person, or destruction of the Power of the King, or of Changing the Fundamental Constitution of the Common-Wealth] *&c. Holy Com. Pa.* 489. 490. [I will never gain-say him if he call me a most perfidious Rebell; and tell me that I am Guilty of far greater Sin, then Murther, Whoredome, Drunkenesse, or such like. *Ibid.*

Or if they can solidly Confute my Grounds, I will thank them, and Confesse my Sin to all the World. *Ibid.*

Richard takes him up and proves him guilty as to the Kings Person.

Ri. *Nay Brother* Baxter, *you must give* Me *leave to put in a Word now; and first to your* Practice, *then to your* Grounds. *Did not you animate the Party that was in Arms against the King, as much as any man, and was That no hurt to his* Person? [*Remember* (say you to the Army) *how far I have gone with you in the Warr —— And shall I be affraid of my Old most Intimate Friends?* &c. Holy Com. Pref. *Will you have it now that* This Army, your Old, and Intimate Friends, *did no Hurt to his Majesties Person? And now bethink your self, of your Challenge in the* Preface *to your* Holy Common wealth. [*Prove that the* King was the Highest Power, *in the time of* Divisions, *and that he* had Power to make that War, *which he made, and I will offer my Head to Justice as a Rebell.*] *Is not This Destructive of the Kings Power? And is not This a Change of the Fundamental Constitution of the Common-wealth, to say that* [*the Members of Parliament considered* disjunctly, *may be* Subjects, *but that* Conjunctly, *as a* House *or* Body, *they have the Sovereignty.*] Holy Com. Pa. 433. *And again* Pa. 462. [*That the Parliament hath a part of the Legislative Power, (even of ENACTING, and not only of* Proposing) *is undoubted.*

An Opposer of the Kings Power.

And the Fundamental Constitution.

He acknowledgeth the Protectors Soveraignty.

And blesseth the Providences that brought *Richard* to the Government.

Ba. Nay if you go to That *Richard*, I shall call *You* to Accompt for your *Practises* and *Propositions* too. Do not you remember a certain *Dedicatory Epistle*, to *Richard Protector.* in your *Key for Catholiques*, where you have these words? [Give not leave to every seducer to do his worst to damn mens Souls. when you will not Tolerate every Traytor to draw your *Armies* or PEOPLE into Rebellion.] *And again*, [This is one that rejoyceth in the present happiness of *England*, and honoureth all the Providences of God, by which we have been brought to what we are.] Do not you here acknowledge *Richard* the *Protector*

tectors Sovereignty? and bleſſe all the Providences that have brought matters ſo Comfortably about?

Ri. *Ay, Ay,* Baxter; *That's a Doctrine you taught me in your* Commonwealth. [*I am bound to ſubmit to the Preſent Government, as ſet over us by God, and to Obey for Conſcience-ſake, and to behave my ſelf as a Loyall Subject towards Them. For a Full, and Free Parliament hath own'd it, and ſo there is notoriouſly the* Conſent of the People, *which is the Evidence that former Princes had to Juſtify their Beſt Titles.* Pa. 484. *Whereas in Truth neither was This a* Free Parliament, *nor any* Parliament *at all; neither was your Submiſſion to the preſent Power, an Act of Conſcience, for the* ſame Conſcience *would have oblig'd you as well to the* King, *upon the* ſame Grounds.

Richard had his Principles from *Baxter.*

Baxter makes the *Protectors* Title as good as the *Kings.*

Ba. In good time *Mr. Richard*: And who taught ye, I wonder your Complements to *Prince Richard* in the *Five diſputations*? Where you Addreſſe your ſelf [*To His Highneſſe, Richard, Lord Protectour of the Common-Wealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.] *Ep. Ded.* And further ['Your Zeal for God 'will kindle in your SUBJECTS, a zeal for you. The more 'your Life & Government is Divine, the more Divine will you 'appear; and therefore, the more Amiable, and Honourable to 'the Good, and Reverend to the Evill. Parliaments will Love 'and honour you, and abhor the Motions that tend to a Diviſi-'on, or your *Juſt Diſpleaſure*. Miniſters will heartily pray for 'you, and prayſe the Lord for his Mercies by you, and Teach 'all the People to Love, Honour and Obey you. The People 'will Rejoyce in you; and you will be lov'd or Fear'd of All. 'Such Happineſſe attendeth Serious *Piety*, when Impiety, ſelfiſh-'neſſe, and Neglect of Chriſt, is the ſhame and Ruine of Prince 'and People. I crave your Highneſſe Pardon for this Boldneſs, 'and your Favourable Acceptance of the Tender'd Service of,

Baxters Addreſſes to *Richard* Protector.

' A Faithfull Subject to your Highneſs, as you
' are an Officer of the Univerſal King,

Richard Baxter.

Baxters Resolution in three Cases, expresly to keep out the King.

Ri. *I keep still to my Old Master the Doctour of the* Aphorisms. [*If a Person enter into a military State against the People, and by Them be Conquered, they are not obliged to Restore him, unless there be some other Special Obligation upon them, beside their Allegeance.*] *Thes.* 145. And moreover [*If the Person dispossest, though it were Unjustly, do afterward become Uncapable of Government, It is not the Subjects duty to seek his Restitution.*] Thes. 146. *And yet again* [*Whoever expells the Sovereign, though Injuriously, and resolves to ruine the Common-Wealth rather then he shall be restored: and if the Common-Wealth may prosper without his Restauration, It is the Duty of such an Injur'd Prince, for the Common Good to resign his Government; and if he will not, the People ought to Iudg him as made Incapable by Providence, and not to seek his Restitution to the Apparent Ruine of the Common-Wealth.*] Thes. 147.

Mo. Praye let me put in a Word betwixt ye. What do you call *Incapacitys?*

Baxters Incapacities for Government.

Dominion is founded in Grace.

Want of Power deposes a Prince.

Ba. [When Providence depriveth a man of his *UNDERSTANDING*, He is *Materia Indisposita*, and *Uncapable* of *Government*, though not of the *Name*.] *Thes.* 135. [If God permits Princes to turn so *WICKED*, as to be Uncapable of Governing, So as is consistent with the Ends of Government, he permits them to depose Themselves.] *Thes.* 136. *Again*; [If Providence Statedly disable him that was the Sovereign, from the executing of Laws, Protecting the Just, and other Ends of Government, it maketh him an Uncapable Subject of the Power and so deposeth him.] For a Government so Impotent, is None. A capacity for the Work and Ends is necessary in the Person; and when That ceaseth, the Power ceaseth.] *Hol. Comm. Pag.* 137. 138.

Ri. *And then you say further,* Thes. 153. *That* [*Any thing that is a sufficient Sign of the Will of God, that This is the Person, by whom we should be Governed, is enough (as Joyned to Gods Laws) to oblige us to Consent, and Obey him, as our Governour.) Upon which Ground, you your self do Justify all that I have either said, or done, in submission to* Richard. *And so you do likewise in your* Thesis 149.

A Case against his Majesties Restauration.

[*If the Rightfull Governour be so long dispossest, that the Common-Wealth can no longer be without Government, but to the apparent hazzard of it's Ruine, we ought to Judge that Providence has dispo-*

sest

first the Former, and presently consent to another.] *We must not say, that* [*because we cannot have such a man, we'l have none, but be Ungoverned; This is to break an Expres's Commandement, and to cast off the Order and Ordinance of God, for a Persons sake.*] P.162. *And then there's another thing*, You put all the *Cases* that ever you could muster up, against the Kings Raturn. [*If a King (you say) dissolves the Government he can be no Governour. If an Enemy, no King. A destroyer cannot be a Ruler, and Defender; He proclaimeth Hostility, and is Therefore not to be Trusted.*] Pa. 539.

Cases of Forfeiture.

Ba. Well, well? *Richard.* If you had pleased, you might have found out some other Aphorismes, where I have done as much Right I'm sure to Sovereign Power as any man living. Do not I say *Thes.* 326. That [It is the Subjects Duty to defend their Prince, with their Strength, and hazzard of their Lives, against all Forreign and Domestique Enemies, that seek his Life, or Ruine?]

Baxter asserts Obedience at all hazzards.

Ri. If *you speak This to the Cause in Question*; *how will you come off where you say* [*If I had known that the Parliament had been the Beginners, and in most fault, yet the Ruine of our* Trustees, *and* Representatives, *and so of all the* security *of the Nation, is a* Punishment greater *then any fault of theirs against a King, can from him deserve: and That Their faults cannot disoblige me from defending the Common-Wealth. I Owned not all that ever they did: but I took it to be my Duty to look to the mayn End. And I knew that the King had all his Power for the Common Good, and therefore had none against it; and Therefore that no Cause can Warrant him, to make the Common-Wealth the Party, which he shall exercise Hostility against.*] Ho. Com. Pa. 480. [*All this seemed plain to me*] *And* [*When I found so many things Conjunct, as* Two *of the* Three Estates *against the* Will *of the King Alone, The Kingdoms Representatives and Trustees assaulted in the Guarding of our Liberties, and the Highest Court defending them against* offending Subjects, *and seeking to bring them to a Legal Tryal; and the Kingdoms Safety, and the Common Good, involved in their Cause* (which may be more fully manifested, but that I would not stir too much in the Evils of times past;) *All these, and many more concurring, perswaded me, that it was* Sinfull to be Neutrals, *and* Treacherous to be against the Parliament in that Cause.]——[*It were a wonder if so many humble, honest Christians, fearful of* sinning, *and* Praying

Baxter against the King though the Parliament had been in the wrong.

B. does not love to rub old sores.

Neutrality a sin, and Treachery to serve the King.

The Praying *Rebels* against the Loyall *Damme's.*

for Direction, *should be all mistaken in so weighty a Case, and so many* Damme's *all in the Right.*] pa. 481.

A just way of Deposing a King imply'd.

Ba. Very Learnedly apply'd. But do not I say *Pa.* 437. That [if a Parliament would wrong a King, and depose him Unjustly, and change the Government, for which they have no Power, the Body of the Nation may refuse to serve them in it, yea, may forcibly restrayn them? If they *Notoriously* betray their Trust, not in some Tolerable matters, but in the Fundamentalls, or Points that the Common Good dependeth on, and engage in a Cause that would destroy the Happyness of the Common-wealth; It is then the Peoples duty to forsake them, and cleave to the King against them, if they be Enemies to the Common-wealth.] *Pag.* 438.

A Parliament may betray their Trust too.

Tho' a Prince be injur'd, the People may joyn with his Enemies.

Ri. *Now I beseech ye Mr.* Baxter *be pleased to Compare* pa. 437. *with* pa. 424. *where you lay down This* Thesis [*Though some injury to the King be the Occasion of the War, it is the Duty of all the People to defend the Common-wealth against him; Yet so, as that they protest against That Injury.*]

No Obedience due to an Usurper.

Ba. But what say ye all this while to the Case of making Court to an Usurper? [When it is Notorious (*say I*) that where a man has no Right to Govern, People are not bound to Obey him, unlesse by Accident.] *Thesis* 339.

Usurpers must be oppos'd.

Ri. [*We detest their Opinion, who think that a strong and prosperous Usurper, may be defended, against the King, or that the King is not to be defended against him, to the hazzard of our Estates, and Lives.*] Non-Com. 2d. part. Pa. 77. [*Meer Conquest without Consent, is no* just *Title.*] Ibid. *P.* 108. *And again,* [*Usurpers have no True Power, nor do their Commands bind any one in Conscience to formal Obedience: nor may they be set up and defended against the Lawfull Governour.*] Pa. 55. [*And Those are Usurpers who by Force or Fraud depose the Lawfull Governour and take his place.*

They have no True Power.

Who are Usurpers.

The People to be Judges.

Ibid. [*If Usurpers claim the Crown, the Subject must Judge which is their King and must defend his Right.*] Non-Con. Plea. 70.

The People may misjudge.

Ba. But what if the People shall Miss-Judge? [All things are not destructive to the Common-wealth, that are Judg'd so by Dissenting Subjects.] *Holy Com. Pref.* [Nor are Subjects

aHow'd

allow'd to Resist, whenever they are confident that Rulers would destroy the Common-wealth.] *Ibid.* [Oh how happy would the best of Nations under Heaven be, If they had the Rulers that our Ingratitude hath cast off.] [Our old Constitution, was King, Lords, and Commons, which we were sworn and sworn, and sworn again to be faithfull to, and to Defend. The King with-drawing, the Lords and Commons Ruled alone, though they Attempted not the Change of the *Species* of Government. Next This, we had the *Major part* of the House of Commons in the Exercise of Sovereign Power, the *Corrupt Majority*, (as the Army call'd them) being cast out.] *Ibid.* &c. *'Tis no matter for the Following Revolutions*; [To resist, or depose the *Best Governours* in all the world, that have the Supremacy, is forbidden to Subjects on point of Damnation. *Ibid.*

Baxt. laments the losse of the late Rulers.

Sworn, and sworn to King, Lords and Commons.

The Lords & Commons rule alone, and the Government not changed.

The Two Houses & the Protectors B's best Governours.

Ri. *Pray'e hold your hand a little Mr.* Baxter. *If the Government was in King, Lords, and Commons, how came the Two Houses to Rule* Alone, *without an Usurpation? And without changing the* species *of the Government? Or how came we, that you say were sworn over and over to all Three, to depose the Head, and Submit to the other Two; and to let the Government sink from a Monarchy, into an Aristocracy? And why might not the* Commons, *cast out the* Lords, *and the* Army *the* Commons, *as well as the* Two Houses *cast off the* King? *Especially by your own Comment upon.* [Let every Soul be Subject to the Higher Powers.] Ho. Com. 349. *Where you expound* the Higher Power, *to be Intended of the Governours in* Actual Possession. *What hindred this Argument from holding, when the* King *was in Actual Possession?*

Baxter charg'd with Contradiction.

The Higher Powers are the Governors in possession.

Ba. [A people may give an Honourary Title to the Prince, and not give the same to Others, that have part in the Sovereignty.] [So that *Names* are not the only Notes of *Sovereignty*. Wherefore one must not Judge of the Power of Princes by their Titles, or Names.] *Ho. Com. Pa.* 432. [The Law saith the King, shall have the Power of the *Militia*, supposing it to be against Enemies, and not against the Common-wealth, nor them that have part of the Sovereignty with him. To Resist him here is not to Resist Power, but Usurpation, and Private Will. In such a Case, the Parliament is no more to be Resisted then he, because they are also the Higher Power.] *Ho. Com. Pa.* 431.

'Tis not the Name that makes the King.

The People Judges of the King and of the Law.

Seize the Kings Revenue, and he is no longer a King.

Pa. 431. *And there's more in't yet.* [If a Prince be ſtatedly made a *Begger*, or forſaken, or Ejected by a Conqueror, and ſo Uncapable of Governing, if it be but *pro Tempore*, the Subjects for That time, (that have no opportunity to Reſtore him) are diſobliged from his Actual Government.] *Pa.* 139.

Inferiour Magiſtrates ſtill Subjects.

Ri. *So that the Seizing of a Prince's Revenue, depoſes him from his Sovereignty, and diſcharges his Subjects of their Obedience. But I took* [*Inferior Magiſtrates to be Subjects of the King as well as the meaneſt men; and to have no more Power to Depoſe, or take up Arms againſt him, then other Subjects.*] Non-Con. Plea, 2d. part p. 57.

Richard ever True to the Crown.

And [*In all the times of Uſurpation, and ſince, I ſaid, and wrote, that the Kings Perſon is Inviolable, and to be Judg'd by none, either Peer, or Parliament, and that it is none but Subjects, that they may call to Account, Judge, and Puniſh.*] Pref.

The Law of Nature is above the Law of the Land.

Ba. I ſhall leave [Others to Judge, in what Caſes Subjects may Reſiſt Kings by Arms; We ſhall only Conclude, that no Humane Power can Abrogate the Law of Nature, *Non-Con. Plea. 2d. Part Pa.* 57.

Modeſt Subjects ſtudy their own Duty not the Kings.

Ri. *And may not the Two Houſes be Reſiſted by the Law of Nature as well as they oppoſed the King?* [*Modeſt Subjects ſhould rather ſtudy what Laws God hath made for* Themſelves, *then what Laws he hath made for Kings; and what is their* Own duty *then what is the Kings*: [**Though of This they are not bound to be Ignorant.**] *Non-Con. Plea, 2d. Part. Pa.* 48.

Sovereign Power not to be reſtrained by the people.

Ba. Nay I am as little for Reſtraining of Sovereign Power as any fleſh breathing. [It is not ſafe or Lawfull for the People to Limit, or Reſtrain the Sovereign Power, from diſpoſing ſo far of the *Eſtates* of All, as is neceſſary to the ſafety of All, which is the End of Government.] *Theſis* 115. Nay [A Governour cannot Lawfully be Reſtrayned by the People from preſerving them.] *Theſ.* 120. [For the Multitude are Covetous, Tenacious, Injudicious, and Incompetent Judges of the Neceſſities, or Commodity of the Common-wealth.] *Pa.* 115.

The multitude no Judges of Government.

Ri. *But what was it you were ſaying e'en now of the* Beſt Governours *in the World?*

Ba.

Ba. I was saying, that [the Best Governours in all the World that have the Supremacy have been Resisted or deposed in *England*. I mean 1. Them that the Army called the *Corrupt Majority*: or an Hundred Forty and Three Imprison'd, and Secluded Members of the Long Parliament, who, as the *Majority*, had, you know what power. 2. The Powers that were last layd by. I should with great Rejoycing give a Thousand Thanks to That man, that will acquaint me of One Nation upon all the Earth, that hath better Governours in Sovereign Power (as to Wisdome and Holyness Conjunct) then those that have been Resisted, or deposed in *England*. *Ho. Com. Pref.*

The Secluded Members and the two *Cromwells* the best Governors.

Ri. *You Speak of the* Secluded Members, *and the* Two Cromwells. *But they all came in by Violence; And* [*I know none of the Non-Conformists that take it not for Rebellion, to pull down or set up forceibly by the Sword, any thing against the Supreme Ruler, or* Without *him*] R. Bs. Letter to Mr. Hinckly. Pa. 88.

Rebellion to oppose the supreme Rules.

Ba. [The Parliament did Remonstrate to the Kingdom, the danger of the Subversion of Religion, and Liberties, and of the Common Good and Interest of the People whose Trustees they were] *Ho. Com. Pa.* 471. And [If a Nation Regularly chuse a Representative Body, of the most Noble, Prudent, Interested Members, to discern their dangers and the Remedies, and preserve their Liberties and Safety, the People themselves are to discern These Dangers, and Remedies by *THEIR* eyes.] *Thes.* 356. And I think [it was time for us to believe a Parliament concerning our Danger, and Theirs, when we heard so many Impious persons rage against them] *Pa.* 472. [the Irish professing to raise Arms for the King, to defend his Prerogative and their own Religion against the Parliament. I say, in such a time as This, we had Reason to believe our entrusted Watchmen, that told us of the danger, and no Reason to suffer our Lives and Libertyes to be taken out of their Trust, and wholly put into the hands of the King. We had rather of the two, be put upon the Inconvenience of Justifying our Defence, then to have been Butcher'd by Thousands, and fall into such hands as *Ireland* did.] *Pa.* 473. But [all the Wars that have been since the Opposition to the Parliament, and Violence done to the Person of the King: were far from being own'd by the Common

The Parliament told us our danger.

And we were bound to see with Their Eyes.

The King himself opposed, and Baxter resolved to justifie it.

The Non Conformists went along with the Parliament.

mon Sort of the *Now Non-Conformists, &c.*] *Non-Conf. Plea. Pa.* 138.

Ri. *You were saying a while agoe as I remember, that a* Parliament *that destroys* Fundamentals, *is an* Enemy *to the* Common-Wealth, *and the* People ought *to* oppose *them. Praye Say: Is not the Freedome and Right of the* Electors, *as much a* Fundamental, *as the* Priviledge, *and* Trust *of the* Elected? *How comes it then that you propound the* Reducing of Elections to the Faithfull, honest Upright men.] *&c.* Pref. to the Ho. Com.

A Fundamental destroyed.

Baxter defends it.

Ba. Let me speak afterwards of the *Necessity*, and of the *Utility* of This Cause.

Parliaments may be corrupt.

1. [It is known that Parliaments *quà Tales*, are not Divine, Religious, Protestant, or Just. The Six Articles by which the Martyrs were burnt, were made by a Parliament. All the Laws for the Papal Interests in the days of Popery, have been made by them. They have often Followed the Wills of Princes to and fro, and therefore they are not Indefectible, nor Immutable, as such. *Ho. Com. Pa.* 243.

Instances of Parliamentary Corruptions.

Mo. Very right; and all the late Orders and Ordinances for Sequestring Crown and Church-Revenues, Commitments, Plunders, Decimations and the like, were made by that which you call a Parliament. But see now in what a Condition That people must be, that sees with the Parliaments Eyes, in case of such Parliaments, as you suppose: and the Remedy you prescribe, is worse then the disease; for take away the Freedome of Choyce, and the Persons Chosen are a *Faction* rather then a *Parliament*.

Votes may be carryed by Faction.

Ba. 2. [It is known that there are Members of Various minds in them all, and sometime, the miscarrying Party is so strong, that by a few more voyces they might bring Misery on the Common-wealth.] *Ibid.*

As appears to our cost.

Mo. This we have found in severall cases upon Experiment; to the Ruine of three Kingdomes.

The *major* part of Electors are Ill men.

Ba. 3. [It is well known that in most parts, the Major-Vote of the Vulgar that are Chusers are Ignorant, selfish, of Private

Private Spirits, ruled by mony, and therefore by their Landlords, and other Great and Powerful men, and withall, they are bitterly distasted against the Serious, diligent Practice of Religion, according to the Rules of Christ.] *Ibid.*

4. [It is therefore apparent, that if they had their Liberty, They would chuse such as are of their minds; and it was by Providence, and Accident that heretofore they did not so.] *Ibid.*

And will chuse others like themselves.

Mo. Here's a Compendious Model Mr. *Baxter* of your Project [for the due Regulation of the Electours, and Elections of Parliament] *Thes.* 211. First, you propound to take away from the People of *England*, their Ancient, and Undoubted Right of Chusing their own Representatives. 2. to Unqualify all the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of the Land that are Well Affected to the Government of Church and State. And 3ly. To Pack a Faction under the name of a Parliament of your own Leaven. Or if that will not doe, 'tis but employing the Rabble again to give the House a swinging Purge, and you are at yonr Journeys End. Proceed.

Baxter's model for Regulation of Elections. The Peoples Right of Election taken away by partial qualifications. A Faction packt under the name of a Parliament.

Ba. 5. [It is certain, that the Wars, the Change of Church-Government, and Forms of Worship, the Differences of Religious men, and the many Sects that have lately risen up among us, and the strict Laws of Parliament about the Lords day, &c. and Specially their Taxes, have deeply discontented them, and exasperated them against such as they think have caused these, so that many would now purposely design Their Ruine.] *Ibid. In fine*, [Without Regulating Elections, what Probability is there, but the next that is chosen by a Majority of Votes, with absolute Freedom, will undoe all that hath been done; and be revenged to the full on all that were so odious to them, and settle our Calamity by a Law?

The People are disoblig'd, and not trusted with chusing their own Representative.

Mo. This is a more Candid Account Mr. *Baxter*, then you Intended it. For the People may well be allow'd to have Cursed the Authours of those bloudy Broyles; The Prophaning of our Temples; The suppressing of our Church-Government, and Liturgy; the Propagating of so many Sects and Schisms; and bringing [illegible] to Grone under Their Taxes, like the Asse [illegible] Burgen. But how is That the Peoples Representative, [illegible] Shuts the people out of the Election, and acts

The people sick of their Representatives.

 both

both Without, and Againſt their Conſent? The Tenth part of this encroachment upon the Common Liberty, from the King, would have been Cry'd out againſt, as Arbitrary And Tyrannicall. But what way would you direct for the Limiting of the Qualifications?

The Paſtors to approve of the Electors.

Ba. [Let all Paſtors in *England*, that are Approved, have an Inſtrument of Approbation, and all that are Tolerated, an Inſtrument of Toleration; and let no man be a chuſer or a Ruler that holdeth not Communion with an Approved or Tolerated Church, and is not ſignify'd under the Paſtors hand, to be a Member thereof.] *Theſ.* 219.

The Empire of Presbytery.

Mo. A moſt excellent Invention to advance the Empire of Presbytery, and enſlave all other degrees and Perſwaſions of men whatſoever.

The Petition and Advice concerning Elections.

Ba. [The Humble Petition and Advice determineth, that under the Penalty of a Thouſand pounds, and Impriſonment till it be paid, no perſon be Elected and ſit in Parliament but] [*Such as are perſons of known Integrity, fear God, and of Good Converſation.* They are ſworn alſo for *Fidelity to the Protector*, &c.] A more excellent Act hath not been made, for the happyneſſe of *England*, concerning Parliaments, at leaſt, ſince the Reformation.] *Ho. Com.* 257. 258.

Baxters admirable Expedient.

☞

His qualifications accepted.

Mo. But what is it that you mean by this *Known Integrity?* or who are to be the *Judges* of it? I take That man that Publickly Sacrifices his Life, his Fortune, his Family, and his Freedome to the ſervice of his Prince and Countrey, according to the Law, to be a man of *Known Integrity*: and him that Acts in oppoſition to the Law, and to his duty, to be clearly the contrary. I take the *Publican*, that ſmites his breaſt, and crys, *Lord be merciful unto me a ſinner*; to have more of the *Fear of God* in him, then the *Phariſee*, that *Prays* in the *Market Place*, and *thanks God that he is not as Other men are*: And I take him to be of as *Good a Converſation*, that ſubmits quietly to the Rules of the Government; Reverences Authority, and contents himſelf with his Lawful Lot, As he is that values himſelf upon Outbraving Publique Order, Reviling his Betters; Living upon the ſpoil, and devouring the Bread of the Oppreſſed.

The Phariſee and the Publican.

[What

What would you say now to the turning of the Tables, and setting up of *your Qualifications* on the *other side?* and to the Kings excluding of the Non-Conformists by an Oath of Fidelity to himself, as your *Richard* [*excluded delinquents in the late Elections.*] *Ho.Com. P.*244. [*So that the People durst not go according to their Inclinations.*] *Ibid.* But why do I argue from your *Practises*, when your *Positions* do naturally leade to *the same undutyfull Ends?*

What if the King should take upon him so?

Ba. [My dull Brain could never find out any one point of difference in *Theology*, about the *Power* of *Kings*, and the *Duty* of *Obedience* in the *People*, between the Divines called *Presbyterians*, and *Episcopal*. If you know any, name them me, and tell me your Proofs. *R.B's. Letter to* Mr. *Hinckly*,] *Pa.* 26.

Baxter findes Presbyterian and Episcopal Loyalty the same.

Ri. *'Tis a Confounding of your* Metaphysicks *methinks with your* Politiques, *to talk of Points of* Theology, *in matters of* Civil Power *and* Obedience; *without distinguishing between our* Credenda *and* Agenda, Notion *and* Practice; Supernaturall Truths *and* Moral Duties. *And why* [The Divines CALLED Presbyterians] *and not rather the* Presbyterian Divines? *For they are not* ALL, Presbyterians, *that are so* CALLED; *and there's a great deal of difference betwixt the Principles of* Presbyterian Divines, *as* Presbyterian, *and the Principles of those very* Presbyterians, *as they are ranged under the Banner of a* Civil Interest. *But over and above all This, you have carry'd it a great deal too far, to say that the* Episcopal, *and the* Presbyterian Divines *hold the* same Principles *in the Point of* King *and* Subject. *You should rather have acknowledg'd the disagreements, and maintain'd the Principle.*

Baxter confounds his Metaphysicks with his Politicks.

We hold, 1. [*That the Parliament by the Constitution, have part of the Sovereignty.*] Ho. Com. Pa. 457. [2. *That the Sovereignty is joyntly in King, Lords and Commons, as Three Estates.*] 465. [3. *The Parliament have a Power of Enacting Laws as well as of Proposing them.*] Pa. 462. *Whereas The Episcopal Party pronounce the Sovereignty to be only in the King*; 2. *They assert the Kings sole Supremacy in all Causes and over all Persons, whatsoever as well Ecclesiastical, as Civil, and* 3. *That the two Houses have no share at all in the Sanction. We hold likewise that It was Treason to resist the Parliament, as the Enemy did, apparently in Order to their Subversion.*] Ho. Com. 478. [*That the Parliament was the highest In-*

Presbyterian Positions.

Episcopal Positions.

Presbyt. Posit.

terpreter of Laws that was then Existent, in the Division.] Ibid. *And so we find that every step of the Parliamentary War was Justify'd by the Assembly, and the whole Current of the Presbyterian Divines: The Episcopal Clergy Unanimously declaring themselves to the contrary. Who but the Assembly* July 19. 43. *in the Names of Themselves and Others, to call for the Execution of Justice, on All delinquents?* Husband 2d. Vol. of Collections, 241. *And who again,* Aug. 10. 1643. *but The Divines of the Assembly that are Resiants of the Associated Counties, and now Attending the Assembly, are desired to go down into their several Counties, to stir up the people in Those several Counties, to rise for their Defence.*] Ibid. 285. *So that in the Main, we differ upon the very* Constitution *of the* Government; *the* Power *of the* Prince, *the* Duty *of the* Subject, *and upon every point of the* Parliamentary War: *And we are no lesse divided upon the Scheme of* Forms, *and* Ceremonies.

Episc. Posit.

The Assembly crys out for bloud. And stir up the people.

Mr. Baxter never wrong'd any man.

Ba. [Prove that I or any of my Acquaintance ever practised Ejecting, Silencing, ruining men for things Unnecessary; yea or for Greater things. Whom did we ever forbid to Preach the Truth? Whom did we cast out of all Church-Maintenance? Whom did we Imprison!] *R. B's. Answ. to* Dr. *Stillingfleet. Pa.* 97.

Richard refreshes his memory.

Ri. *You forget your self Brother: and I am for speaking the Truth, though I shame the Devill. Pray look into* Mecurius Rusticus *his Accompt of the* London Clergy *that were* Ejected, Silenced, *and* Ruin'd *by Order of Parliament: See his* Querela Cantabrigiensis, *for the* Heads, Fellows, *and* Students, *of Colledges, that were There* Ejected, Plunder'd, Imprison'd, *or* Banish'd *for their Affections to the* King, *and the* Establish'd Religion. *Consider that You your self took the liberty to Graze upon another mans Pasture: And all these Violence were carry'd on by your Encouragement, Influenced by your Approbation; and the Principal directors of them, extold to the Skies, as the* [Best Governours *for* Wisdome *and* Holyneſſe,] Ho. Com. Pref. *under the Cope of Heaven.*

Mr. Baxters Governors.

A Plot upon the Presbyterians.

Ba. But however, [Either they must prove that we hold Rebellious Principles, or they shew that they do but in Plot accuse us.]

I know

I know very well that [*The Transproser Rehearsed, Pa.*48. saith Mr. *Baxter in his Holy Common-wealth mayntainteth that he* (the King) *may be called to Account by any Single Peer.*] [Must we say nothing to such bloudly slanders? Never such a Thought was in my mind, nor word spoken or Written by me. But all is a meer False-Fiction: Nay in all the times of Usurpation, and Since, I said and Wrote, that the Kings *Person* is *Inviolable*, and to be Judg'd by none, either *Peer*, or *Parliament*, and that it is none but Subjects that they may call to accompt, and Judge, and Punish; and that neither the King may destroy or hurt the Kingdome, nor the Kingdome the King, (much lesse a *Peer*). but their Union is the Kingdomes Life. And the very *Book Accused*, goeth on *such Principles*, and hath not a word meet to tempt a man in his Witts to This Accusation. Judge now by this one Instance, and by the Cry of the *Plotters* now against Us, [*Catilina Cethegum*,] seeking our destruction, and the Parliaments, as supposed to favour us (which for ought I know never did any thing for our Relief, or Ease) whether it be meet, that I should dye in silence under such horrid Accusations: Against which I appeal to the Great and Righteous Judge, before whom I am shortly to appear, begging his Pardon and Reforming Conviction whereever I Erre.] *Apr.* 16. 1680. *Non-Con. Plea, 2d Part. Preface. last Page.*

A bloudy slander.

Alas! the *Ho. Com.* a most Innocent Book.

Mr. *Baxter* lies under horrid Accusations.

Mo. Be not so Transported Mr *Baxter* at the *bloudy Slander*, as you call it: for the very excusing of your self after This Manner, falls heavier upon you, then the Accusation it self. There was a Gentleman of a Good Family, that had Stol'n a *Silver-Spoon*; and it was layd home to him, as a mighty Aggravation of the Crime, that a man of his Quality could let himself so low, as to pilfer for such a *Trifle*. Ay Sir, Says he, you say very Right, if That had been All; But in good Faith Sir, my Aym was at the *Great Tankard*, If it had been a *Single Peer*, it had been indeed a *bloudy Slander*; But your Ayme was the calling of the *King* to an *Account*, by the Authority of the *Two Houses*. And then you are pleased to blesse God for the next Change that call'd Them to Account too: for you give the *Two Usurpers* much better Words, then any you could afford to the *Lords Annoynted*. You call Them the *Higher Powers*, and enjoyn *Obedience* to Them upon the pain of *Damnation*; which is a Favour you would never allow to his Late Majesty.

Mr. *Baxter* transported.

Any Governmen but the Right.

Any

Any Government but the Right will down with ye, and Still That which was a *Rebellion* in the *Enterprize*, proves to be a *Providence* in the *Execution*.

But do you ſay Mr *Baxter*, that you have allways aſſerted the *Kings Perſon* to be *Inviolable*, &c. and that *the very Book accuſed goeth on ſuch Pronciples*? Why then it is no *hurt* to the *King*, to be *Aſſaulted*, *deſpoyl'd* of his *Regalitys*; *Depoſed*, *Impriſoned*, *Try'd*, *Condemn'd* and *Exeeuted*. For the *King* you ſay is but a *Title* of *Reſpect*, not a *Character* of *Power*: a *Nominal*, *Empty buſineſſe*. A kinde of *Dignity*, *Party-perpale*, *Half-Prince*, *half-Subject*; and 'tis but taking him on the Popular ſide, and you *may* do what you will with him. This is the *Chimera* of a Prince, according to your *Aphoriſmes*: A kind of *Mock-Majeſty* ſet up, for every *Seditious Libertine* to throw a *Cudgell* at. You make his Authority to be ſo Conditional, and Precarious, that he is upon his good behaviour for his Crown. If his *Adminiſtration* be not anſwerable to the *Ends* of *Government*: If he wants either *Power*, or *Money*, or *Grace*, or *Underſtanding*; or (which is worſt of All) If the Licentious Rabble will but ſay, that he wants This, or That, hee's gone, and Depoſed, *Ipſo facto*, as an Unqualifi'd Perſon. For according to your *Theſis*, The *Multitude* are to be the Judges of Theſe *Incapacities*. It is a hardy Adventure, M. *Baxter* (unleſs you can make *Almanacks*) to ſet up ſuch Poſitions as Theſe, at This time of day. 'Tis True, They were *printed* in *Fifty-nine*, But they are now *Reſum'd*, and *Avow'd* in *Eighty*. But your Patience yet a little further Sir.

A King is a name of Reſpect not Power.

The Kings Authority made precarious. And under ſeveral Incapacities.

Is it ſuch a *Horrid Accuſation*, to ſay *that Mr Baxter Maintains the King, may be call'd to Account by a* Single Peer? Conſider firſt, that it is a Church-man charges it upon you, and you are before-hand with him: for you have over and over, ſet forth Thoſe of the *Church-way* (without exception either of *King*, *Lords*, or *Commons*) to be a Crew of *Superſtitious*, *Formal*, *Prophane Wretches* that out of a meer *Enmity* to *Godlyneſſe*, ſet themſelves in Oppoſition to the ways of *Chriſt*. Take notice again, if you have not deliver'd the Doctrine aforeſaid in expreſſe Termes, It is already made appear that you have ſaid as much as That amounts to. And over and above the *Whymſies* of your *Aphoriſmes*; your *Thirteenth Chapter*, *of the Late Wars* is one of the Rudeſt and the falſeſt pieces of Calumny againſt the Late King, that I know anywhere Extant.

Baxters Horrid Accuſation.

His Character of our *Church-men*.

Your

Your Appeal upon *This One Instance* (as yon call it) for *Equity* of *Judgement*, and *Liberty* of *Speech*, would move the very Stones in the Walls, to give you a Hearing. And yet if, I had been of your Counsell Mr. *Baxter*, you should have bethought your self, before you *Exclaim'd*, whether the Enquiry into the Subject-matter of your Complaint, might not possibly lay open something that was worse, As undoubtedly it has; for This *Holy Commonwealth* of yours, is a kind of (send me well deliver'd of the Word) a kind of *Theologico-Political Whole-Sale Shop*; and furnished with *Cases*, of all Sorts and Sizes. for the *Consciences* of the *Weak*, and the *Pretentions* of the *Malitious*. In One Case, the King is *Dispossest* by *Providence*; In another, he is *deposed* for *Incapacity*; In a Third, he must not so much as dare to *Return*, even if the *Door* wer set *open* to him: In Such or such a case, the *People* are bound *not* to Re-admit him; and in such another, they may if they *please*, but they are not oblig'd to't: and every one of These Cases, Calculated for this very Poynt, which was at That Time in Agitation. Insomuch, that the *Application* of your Arguments was yet more Criminal then the *Errour* of them.

Baxters damnable Cases of Conscience.

But what do ye mean, I beseech ye, by the *Cry of the Plotters against ye*? As if they knew their Friends no better then So. Their business is the *Subversion* of the *Government*, and of the *Protestant Religion*, that falls with it. What should they cry out for against the *Separatists*, that are all this while, doing the *Papists business* to their *hands*? The Kings Witnesses Speak no such matter; but on the Contrary; that the Priests and Jesuits make use of the Schismatiques toward our Common Ruine. So that by *Plotters* in This place *Mr. Baxter*, it is Intended (I presume,) according to your Wonted Benignity) not the *Popish Plotters*, but the *Episcopal Plotters* against ye; *which* (as you would gladly have the World to believe) *Seek your Destruction, and the Parliaments, as supposed to Favour ye* &c. Now to my thinking, *the Parliaments Destruction, and Ours*, would have run every jot as well, as *Our Destruction and the Parliaments*. Beside that it is not yet come to That Pass I hope, that *Parliaments*, and *Schismatiques*, must *Stand* or *fall together*. Neither can I Imagine why This Parliament should be suppos'd more Inclinable to favour ye, then former

Baxt. dreams of a Plot upon him.

The Cart before the Horse.

former Parliaments have been. The Reaſons for *Uniformity* are the ſame *now* that ever they *were*; and the ſame, *Here*, as in *other Places*. And then the boldneſſe, and Importunity of the Dividers encreaſe the neceſſity of the Injunction. If you have forgotten the *Commons Votes*, and *Addreſſe* of *Feb.* 25. 1662. upon This Subject, Pray let me remember you of them.

Reſolved, *&c.* Nemine Contradicente.

Votes for Uniformity.

That the humble Thanks of This Honſe, be returned to his Majeſty, for his Reſolution to maintain, the Act of Uniformity.

Reſolved, &c.

That it be preſented to the Kings Majeſty, as the humble Adviſe of the Houſe, that no Indulgence be granted to the diſſenters from the Act of Uniformity.

Reaſons againſt Toleration.

For theſe Reaſons.

1. *It will eſtabliſh Schiſme, by a Law, amd make the whole Government of the Church Precaeious, and the Cenſures of it, of no moment or Conſideration at all.*

2. *It will no way become the Gravity or Wiſdome of a Parliament to paſſe a Law at One Seſſion for Uniformity, and at the next Seſſion, (the Reaſons of Uniformity continuing ſtill the Same,) to paſſe Another Law to fruſtrate, or Weaken the Execution of it.*

3. *It will expoſe your Majeſty to the Reſtleſſe Importunity of every Sect or Opinion, and of every ſingle perſon alſo, who ſhall preſume to Diſſent from the Church of* England.

4. *It will be a cauſe of encreaſing Sects, and Sectaries, whoſe Numbers will weaken the true Proteſtant Religion ſo far, that it will at leaſt be difficult for it, to defend it ſelf againſt them. And which is yet further Conſiderable, thoſe Numbers which by being Troubleſome to the Government, find they can arrive to an Indulgence, will as their Numbers encreaſe, be yet more Troubleſome, that ſo at length they may arrive to a General Toleration; which your Majeſty hath declar'd againſt; and in time, ſome prevalent Sect, will at laſt contend for an Eſtabliſhment, which for ought can be fore-ſeen, may end in Popery.*

5. *It*

5. *It is a thing altogether without Precedent, and will take away all means of Convicting Recusants, and be inconsistent with the Method, and Proceedings of the Laws of* England.

Lastly, It is humbly conceived, that the Indulgence Proposed will be so far from tending to the Peace of the Kingdome, that it is rather likely to Occasion great Disturbance. And on the Contrary; that the Asserting of the Laws, and the Religion Established, according to the Act of Uniformity, *is the most probable means to produce a settled Peace, and Obedience throughout your Kingdome: Because the Variety of Professions in Religion, when openly divulged, doth directly distinguish men into Parties, and withall gives them opportunity to count Their Numbers; which considering the Animosities that out of a Religious Pride will be kept on foot, by the severall Factions, doth tend directly, and Inevitably to open disturbance.*

Nor can your Majesty have any security, that the Doctrine or Worship of the severall Factions, which are all govern'd by a severall Rule, shall be Consistent with the Peace of your Kingdome.

And if any Persons shall presume to disturb the Peace of the Kingdome, We do in all Humility d clare, that we will for ever and in all Occasions, be ready with our utmost Endeavours, and Assistance, to adhere to, and serve your Majesty, according to our bounden Duty, and Allegiance.

Only one Word more: and That must be to tax you with Infinite Ingratitude; in saying, that [*Parliaments, for ought you know, never did any thing for your Relief or Ease*] what do ye think of the *Act of Indemnity*, I beseech ye? Was it *Nothing?* to give you your *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Estates* again, when all was *Forfeited*? Nay and it is come to that Point now too; that those very nstruments that were *forgiven* by the *King*, for the Ruin of the Church and Three Kingdoms, will not at this day *forgive* his *Majesty*, for Endeavouring according to the Advice of his Parliament, to *Reestablish* and *Preserve* them. Mr. *Baxters* Ingratitude.

Ri. *If you would understand us aright, you must repair to our* [Declarations, Professions, Commissions, National Oaths and Covenants,] *and the Like.* Ho, Com. Pag. 477. *And pray Observe the Tenor of our* Stile, Addresse. Protestations, *and other Proceedings.* How to understand the Presbyterians.

Words. [*Your Majesties most Humble, and Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons*, Dec. 14. 1641. [*Most Humble and Faithfull Subjects*,] Dec. 15. [*Most Humble and Obedient Subjects*,] Exact Collections. Pa. 2.

Practises. *Mo.* And now put That Libellous Remonstrance of *Dec.* 15. in the Scale against Three or Four Words of Course, of the same date.

Words. Ri. *The Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons, your Faithfull and Loyall Subjects, &c.* Ibid. Pa. 44. Dec. 31. 1641.

Practises. *Mo.* This was a Message to his Majesty for a Guard, which the King most graciously offer'd them, but One of his Chusing it seems would not do the Businesse.

Words. Ri. [*Your most faithfull and Obedient Subjects, the Lords and Commons in this Present Parliament.*] *&c.* Ibid. Pa. 65. Jan. 29.

Practises. *Mo.* They Petition'd to have *the Tower* of London, *and all other Forts, and the whole* Militia *of the Kingdom* to be FORTHWITH put into the hands *of such Persons, as both Houses should Recommend*, &c. Ex. Coll. Jan. 29. 1641. And what did his Majesty now get by the Complement?

Words. Ri. [*Your Humble and Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons*,] &c. Ibid. Feb. 22. 1641. Pa. 80.

Practises. *Mo. His Majesties Humble and Loyal Subjects*, are pleas'd to declare in this Petition; that if the King does not Instantly grant them their Petition about the *Militia*, they are bound by the Laws of God and man to take the *Militia* into their own hands.

Words. Ri. *Your Majesties most Loyal, and Obedient Subjects, the Lords and Commons*;] &c. Ib. Mar. 1. 1641. Pa. 92.

Practises. *Mo.* In this Petition they threaten *to dispose of the* Militia *by the Authority of the Two Houses*. They Order his Majesty *where to dispose of his Person*: and absolutely *deny the Kings Power of the* Militia, *but by Authority and consent of Parliament*.

Ri.

Ri. *Your moſt Dutyful and Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons,*] &c. Ib. 138. Apr. 1642. *Your Majeſties moſt Loyal and Faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons,* &c.] Ib. Apr. 8. 1642. Pa. 141. Words.

Mo. Very Good! And the Former of Theſe was for Leave to remove the Magazin at *Hull,* to the Tower of *London*: And the Other was to divert the King from going into *Ireland* to ſuppreſſe the *Iriſh Rebellion:* (which had certainly been done) and to tell him, that if he went contrary to the Advice of his Parliament, They were reſolved, in his Abſence, not to ſubmit to any Commiſſioners he ſhould appoint: but to preſerve, and Govern the Kingdome by the Counſell and Advice of Parliament.] *&c.* Practiſes.

Ri. *Your Majeſties Loyal Subjects the Lords and Commons in this Parliament.*] Ibid. 258. May 1642. Words.

Mo. Here His Majeſties Loyal Subjects preſſe the King to disband his Troops at *York*, or otherwiſe they'le take the Quiet of the Kingdome into their own Care. And paſſe Theſe following Votes. Practiſes.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion.

1. *That it appears that the King (ſeduced by wicked Counſells) intends to make War againſt the Parliament.* &c. The War charg'd upon the King.

2. *That whenſoever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a Breach of the Truſt repoſed in him by his People, (contrary to his Oath, and tending to the Diſſolution of This Government.*

3. *That whoſoever ſhall ſerve, or Aſſiſt him in ſuch Wars, are Traytors by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdome, and have been ſo Adjudg'd by Two Acts of Parliaments, and ought to ſuffer as Traytors.*] &c. Treaſon to ſerve the King.

Ri. *Your Majeſties moſt humble and Faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament.*] &c. Ib. Jun. 2. 1642. Pa. 307. Words.

Mo. This was the Petition that Accompanied the Nineteen Propoſitions: *demanding from the King* [the diſcharge of all his Miniſters *and* Embaſſadors, *and none to be taken into their Places but what the Parliament ſhall approve. That all matters of State may be manadged only in Parliament, the Privy Counſellors to be by Them approved from time to time and ſupply'd. All Great Officers to be Choſen by* The 19 Depoſing Propoſitions.

their Approbation: They to have the Education of the Kings Children, and the Choyce of their Servants. No Match to be treated of without them. A Reformation of Church-Government and Liturgy to be contrived by their Advice: The Militia to be ſettled in them till ſettled by a Bill; and all Proclamations againſt it to be recalled. New Oaths for Privy Councellors, and Judges. All Judges and Officers to hold their Places, Quamdiu ſe bene Geſſerint: *Parliament-Juſtice upon all Delinquents. An Amneſtry with ſuch exceptions as the Parliament ſhall adviſe. All Forts and Caſtles under Gouernours approved by Parliament. All Forces to be Diſbanded s and a Prohibition of any Peers hereafter to be made, from Sitting or Voting in Parliament, without the Conſent of Both Houſes.*] Are not theſe the Propoſitions think ye, of *Moſt Humble and Faithful Subjects*?

Words. Ri. *Your Majeſties Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament*, Ibid. Sept. 24. 1642. Pa. 617.

Practiſes. *Mo.* His Majeſties Loyal Subjects had now ſent the Earl of *Eſſex* to fall upon the Kings Army, and deſired his Majeſty to leave them and come to his Parliament: And they Petition'd his Majeſty to the ſame Purpoſe again. *Pa.* 630. And ſo as the Humour took them, to the very Treaty at the *Iſle of Wight*: But whether Theſe were the Actions of Rebells, or Loyall Subjects, be you your ſelf the Judge.

Words. Ri. *Well, But what ſay ye to the Stile of* [*We your Humble and Loyal Subjects of both Kingdomes.*] Appendix to Husbands Ex. Coll. 2*d.* Part. Fol. 22. Jan. 13. 1645.

Practiſes. *Mo.* Theſe were the *Humble, and Loyal Subjects*, that, in the ſame Paper, Refuſed his Majeſtys Proffer of a *Perſonal Treaty* with Them at *Weſtminſter*. [*Your Majeſty* (ſay they) *deſires the Engagement, not only of the Parliament, but of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Common-Councill and* Militia *of the City of* London; *the Chief Commanders of* Sir. Tho. Fairfaxes *Army; and Thoſe of the* Scots *Army; which is againſt the Privileges and Honour of the Parliament, thoſe being Joyn'd with them, who are Subject and Subordinate to their Authority.*

Their Profeſſions. At the ſame rate they Proceeded in Their *Profeſſions*; [*They deſire only to Lay a Foundation of Honour, Safety, and* Happineſs to the Kings Perſon and Throne.] *Ex. Coll. dec.* 14. 1641. [*The Greatneſſe*

Greatneſſe and Proſperity of his Majeſty, and his Royal Poſterity.] Ib. Dec. 15. Pa. 2. [*His Majeſtys greatneſſe and Honour*] Ib. Mar. 1. 41. Pa. 94. [*Honour and greatneſſe*] Mar. 2. P. 102. [*Honour, Safety, and Proſperity of your Majeſty*] Mar. 16. P. 118. [*We ſeek nothing but your Majeſties Honour*] Mar. 15. P. 123. [*The Safety of his Majeſties Perſon, and his Royal Poſterity*] May 5. 42. Pa. 173. [*Our moſt Dutyfull care for the Safety of your Royal Perſon*] May 9. P. 180. [*For the Preſerving and Mayntaining the Royal Honour, Greatneſs, and Safety of your Majeſty, and Poſterity*] Jan. 2. 42. P. 310. And then ſee their Remarkable *Proteſtation* of *Octob.* 22. 1642. [*We the Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, do in the Preſence of Almighty God, for the Satisfaction of our Conſcience, and the Diſcharge of That Great Truſt which lyes upon us, make this Proteſtation and Declaration to The Kingdome and Nation, and to the whole World; That no Private Paſſion or Reſpect, no Evill Intention to his Majeſtys Perſon, no deſign to the Prejudice of his Juſt Honour and Authority, Engaged us to rayſe Forces, and take up Arms againſt the Authours of This War, wherewith the Kingdome is now Enflamed*] Ibid. Pa. 663. [*Without any Intention or deſire, (as we do here profeſſe before the Ever-living God) to hurt, or Injure his Majeſty, Either in his Perſon, or Iuſt Power.*] Ib. P. 666.

In the preſence of the Almighty.

A Rebellion in the Name of the everliving God.

I could give you Inſtances of this kind, without End, and as many, of the groſs and Unqueſtionable violations of Theſe Profeſſions; For every *Order* they *paſt*, and every *Piſtol* that they *Fired*, was a *poynt-blank Contradiction*, to their *Pretenſions*. Beſide that in the ſame Breath, they Uſurped all the *Regalities* of the *Crown*, and yet Wrote Themſelves, *His Majeſties moſt Obedient* SUBJECTS. So that This Stile of *Loyalty* was at the ſame time a *Blind* to the *Well-meaning Multitude*, and a Note of *Confederacy* among *Themſelves*: a *Loyal Subject*, according to the *Covenant*, Importing, in plain Terms, a *Traytor*, in the eye of the *Law*. And yet the *Cauſe*, and the *Obligation* of this *Covenant*, and the Proceedings upon it, are openly Aſſerted at This very day.

Covenant-Loyalty.

Ba. Yes, yes; There's The *Counterminer*, the *Popiſh Dialogue*, and many others, that continue lowdly to Accuſe us, and make men believe that we are *Plotting* a new War, and that our *Principles* are *Rebellious* &c.] *Non Conf. Plea. 2d Part. Pref.*

Slanders upon the harmleſs Presbyterians.

Mo. What do ye think of maintaining, that [*Whatſoever the Two Houſes declare for Law, muſt paſs for Law, without Controul, both*

Presbyterian Poſitions.

both upon King and People] *Ex. Coll.* 297. [*That they may do whatever they please*] Ibid. [*That the Major Part of Both Houses are the absolute Masters of the Lives and Liberties of the Subject?*] Ibid. [*That no member of the House of Commons be medled with for Treason, Felony* &c. *Without Leave of the House.*] Ibid. [*That the Sovereignty resides in the two Houses, and that the King has no Negative Voice*] Ibid. *That there lyes no Treason against the* Person *of the King.* Ibid. [*That the Two Houses may Depose the King and not be blamed for so doing.* Ibid.

Mr. *Baxters* best Governors in the world.

Now in calling Those people that did all This, [*The Best Governors in the World*] as in the Preface to your *Holy Common-Wealth*: And in Vindicating That Book, from any Principles of Disloyalty toward the *Person* of the King, as you do, toward the close of your *Preface* as to the 2*d. Part of the Non-conformists Plea Apri.* 16. 1680. What is This, but the *Asserting* of *Rebellious Principles*? And the *Preaching* of the *old Doctrine* to the people over again, What Is it but the *Preface* to *another War*?

The Innocent Non-Conformists.

Ba. [What have we done these Twenty years against the King or State? Unless it be our Crime to live under Reproach, and Scorn, and Poverty. and sometime Imprisonments; and never once so much as Petition a Parliament, either to *Pity* us, or to *Hear* us once *Speak* for our Selves *&c.*] *Ibid.* If any *Odd* persons, or whosoever have said or done any thing against the King or Kingdome, or their Neighbours Right or Peace, or have been Guilty of any Fraud, Drunkennesse, Perjury or Immorality besides their *Unavoidable Non-conformity*, let them be punisht as the Law requires, but let not the *Innocent*, yea *Thousands* be *Slandered*, and Designed to *Destruction* for Them.] Ibid.

The principles of the Late Rebellion revived.

Mo. If you Speak of the *Nonconformists*, they have justifi'd, from *Sixty* to *Eighty*, all the Indignities that were put upon the Government, from *Forty*, to *Sixty*: and there is not any one *Seditious*, or *Schismatical Principle* of the *Old Stamp*, which they have not afresh, *Reviv'd*, and *Recommended* to the People. And for the *Moderation* you boast of, I dare be answerable to produce almost as many *Hundreds* of *Clamorous Libels* against *Authority* from the *Dissenting Party*, as you reckon *Years* of *Silence*, and *Forbearance*. But these are ODD Persons you say, and so is every Dissenter in the Kingdom: for *Ten Millions* of men, are but as so many *Individuals*, when *disincorporate*, and *Lopp'd* off from the *Body*. If I durst be so bold Sir, I should venture to

Mr. *Baxters* Odd persons.

say

say that Mr. *Baxter himself* is one of the ODDEST *persons* that I know in the *whole Party*. You have *First*, a *Perswasion*, to your *self*; for you are neither a *Presbyterian*, nor an *Independent*, nor an *Anabaptist*, nor of any *Tribe* of the *Division* that ever yet had a *Name* to be known by; but a pure *Original*, and a *Christian* of your *own making*: You have *Secondly*, as Peculiar a *Conscience* too; that had rather leap a *Precipice*, then keep the *Kings high-way*. It *rises* and *falls* like a *Weather-Glasse*, upon Change of *Ayre*: and makes St. *Paul* blow *Hot* or *Cold* at *pleasure*: [*Let every Soul be Subject to the Higher Powers*] requires *Obedience* to Dick Cromwell, upon pain of *Damnation*, and *Disobedience* to *Charles the First*, upon the *same penalty*, (as we have had it already.) And then you have this further Advantage, Sir, that you are *your own King*, and *your own Pope*; you *Prescribe* your *own Laws*, and *Grant* your *own Pardons*.

He Himself One.

Mr. *Baxter* his own King and Pope.

Ba. You may prate as long as you will. [*I am against the Imposing* of Mystical Ceremonies, *as* Crossing, or Surplice] *&c. Five Disp. Pa.* 467. [*For to Impose new* Symbolicall Rites *upon the Church, which Christ hath not Imposed, doth seem to me an Usurpation of his Sovereign Power.*] Ibid. [*And to accuse Christ of Ignorance*, or *Negligence, in that he himself hath not Imposed them.*] *And so doth it Imply an Accusation of his Laws, and of the Holy Scriptures, as if they were Insufficient,*] Ibid. 468. [*And These Impositions seem to be plain Violations of These Prohibitions of God, in which* we are *forbidden to* Add to his *Worship, or diminish* FROM IT.] 469. And moreover; [*God hath already given us so perfect a* Directory *for his Worship, that there is nothing more that we can reasonably desire.*] Ib. 481.

Baxters Argument against Ceremonies.

Ri. *Now for my part, I am for the Amiable way.* [*Christians should not be Over-busy in Prying into the work of their Governours; nor too forward to suspect their determinations.*] [*The* Duty *of* Obeying *them being* Certain, *and the* Sinfulnesse *of the thing* Commanded, *being* Uncertain, *and* Unknown, *and only* Suspected; *we must go on the surer side.*] Ibid. 484. [*In disobeying the Lawfull Commands of our Superiours, we disobey Christ.*] Ibid. 485. *Beside that* [*Disobedience in matters of* Circumstance, *will extinde, and Overthrow the* Substance *of the Worship it self.* Pa. 486.

The Case well Resolved.

Postscript

POSTSCRIPT, To the Reader.

MR. *Baxter* has certainly given, in this *Extract*, the greateſt blow to the *Non-conformiſts* that ever they Received: For there are no *Arguments* againſt *That Party* like their *own Arguments* againſt *Themſelves*. To the cleareſt Evidences of *Authority*, and *Reaſon*, they'le oppoſe *Clamour*, and *Paſſion*; and make a ſhift to wriggle themſelves *Off* and *On*, with *Wire-drawn Texts* and *Riddling diſtinctions*. But when the very *Oracle* of That Intereſt comes to play *Faſt* and *Looſe*, and ſhift his *Conſcience* with the *Seaſon*, the *Maſque* is then taken off; for as there can be no *Denyal* of the *Fact*, ſo there can be no *Excuſe* for the *Hypocriſy*. How comes *Toleration* to be a *Sin*, under the *Presbyterians*, and a *Duty* under the *Biſhops*? How comes it to be *Damnation*, in the caſe of the *Late King*, and *Richard Cromwell*, to *Obey* the *Former*, and *deſtroy* the *Latter*? Even according to Mr. *Baxters* own *Expoſition*, which is, that by St. *Pauls Higher Powers*, is Intended *Thoſe* in *Actual Poſſeſſion*? How come *Biſhops* to be *Antichriſtian*, at *one time*, and *Warrantable* at *another*? Or the *Civil Magiſtrate* to have more power in *Eccleſiaſtical matters*, under an *Uſurper*, then under a *Lawful Prince*? How comes an *Epiſcopal Uniformity* to be more a *Perſecution* then a *Presbyterian*? Or a *Common Prayer-Book* more Intolerable then a *Directory*? What can more expoſe the *Credit* of the *Diſſenters*, then this *double-dealing* in the *Foreman* of the *Party*? to ſee Mr. *Baxter Lye down* in *One Opinion*, and *Riſe*, in *Another*; ſtill Accomodating his *Scruples* to every *Criſis* of *State*? And to Conſummate the Iniquity of the *Pretenſe*; He has no ſooner Inveigled the People into a *Schiſme*, but he preſently follows it with a Plat-form of *Sedition*: and having wrought a defection from the *Eccleſiaſtical*, he falls to work, in his *Caſes* and *Aphoriſmes*, upon the *Foundations* of the *Civill Government*.

The End.